GUIDE TO THE NR4 PLATEAU INDIANS FILE

[This file attempts to delineate a rather complex cultural area located geographically in northwestern United States and southwestern Canada, between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while to the south this plateau region merges with the Colorado Plateau. To designate clearly the cultural or tribal units that constitute this file is and will continue to be a problem of some magnitude for ethnographers. For purposes of functional expediency the Plateau area as outlined by Kroeber in his Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America is the one used here, with additions and modifications by Verne F. Ray, an ethnologist, whose writings on the region make up the major bulk of this file. Kroeber speaks of the Plateau region as being composed of three separate geographical areas: (1) the Middle Columbia, composed of the various Sahaptin-speaking tribes, (2) the Upper Columbia, composed of most of the interior Salish-speaking groups from Methow and Okanagon to Flathead, and the Kitunahan-speaking Kutenai, and (3) the Fraser, composed of the Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Athab, Nicola, Chilcotin and possibly the Carrier. Linguistically the Plateau Indians may be classified as follows: (1) the Salish-speakers, the Shuswap, Lillooet, Thompson, Lake, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Nespelem, Southern Okanagon, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia, (2) the Sahaptin-speakers, the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Wauyukma, Palus, New Perce, Tenino and Molala, (3) the Athabascan-speakers, the Chilcotin, Carriers, Sekani and Nicola, and (4) the Kitunahan-speakers, the Kutenai. Although cultural subdivisions of the Plateau Indians cannot be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups, Ray has nevertheless suggested the following divisions: (1) the Lakes, (2) the Central Interior Salish (Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanagon and Columbia), (3) the Cascade

Interior Salish (Methow, Chelan, and Wenatchi), (4) the Northeastern Interior Salish (Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane, and Middle Spokane), (5) the Northwestern Sahaptins (Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, and Wanapam), and (6) the Northeastern Sahaptins (Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse).

The file consists of four English-language sources numbered as sources 1, and 3-5. Sources 1: Ray, 3: Ray and 4: Ray et al., all written by professional anthropologists, and rated as "5" (excellent primary data), generally deal with cultural trait distribution throughout the Plateau area, a factor dictated by the nature of the OWC unit itself (i.e., NR4 Plateau Indians). 1: Ray discusses the distribution and history of the social, religious and material aspects of the culture. 3: Ray deals with village locations and territorial distribution of Salish and Sahaptin-speaking peoples in the Columbia River Basin around the year 1850. Additional information may also be found here on political organization and the hunting and gathering cycles. 4: Ray et al. is composed of the writings of several ethnographers presenting summaries of information on locations and migrations prior to and following White contact. 5: Bancroft, written by a well-known historian, presents general ethnographic information on the Salish and Sahaptin-speaking groups of the Plateau Indians at the time of first Indian-White contact, as gathered from the works of earlier writers. The source is exceptionally well documented as to sources of information used by Bancroft. This source is rated as "4" (excellent secondary data). The file was processed in 1953-1954.]

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

VERNE F. RAY

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

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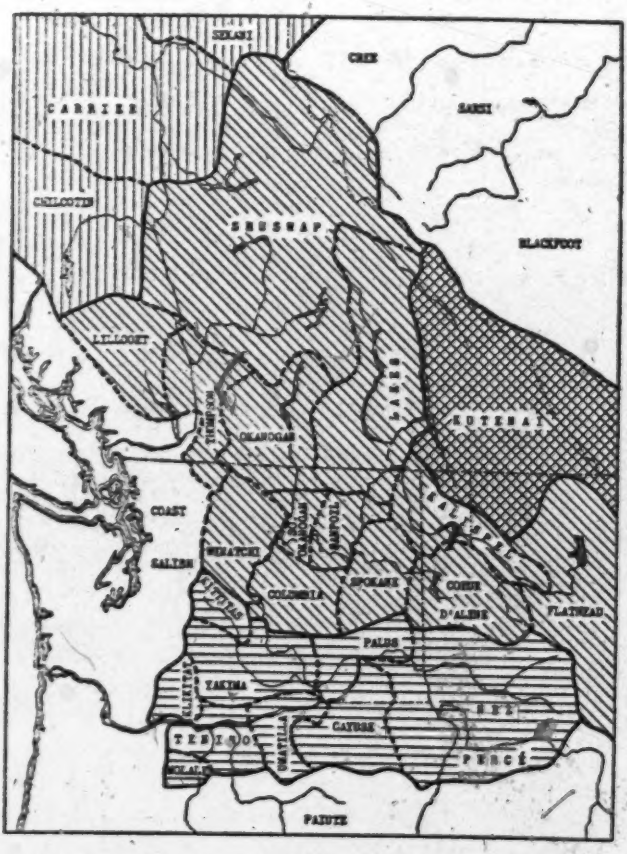

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

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Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientaton

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A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

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> From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

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affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

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> The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{w}", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

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even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

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ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta′xᵘ]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

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Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Dêné Race*, pp. 138 f.

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omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·'lux^{w}) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·'lux^{w}) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (k'tɪ'tăs). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

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names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

Tribal Organization

As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

[12] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 84.

[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13–19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

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council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

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Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more im- [177] portant with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

[14] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 242 f.

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Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[16]

[16] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

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This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band, which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

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Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

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All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

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[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

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101 173 175 abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[3]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

115 Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English; her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929) III, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[3] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

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I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

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dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[22]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[21] Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[22] Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

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The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

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Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

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[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; a with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqâlspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate-'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smaka'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *ll; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

101 "Upper Spokan" for those of the Little Spokane river valley and eastward.[41] These are unfortunate confusions; local usage in no way conforms. The Middle Spokane are the peoples of the middle Spokane river country and the Upper Spokane are those of the upper Spokane river country, the territories in each case extending for considerable distances both north and south of the river. Thus "upper" refers to upriver, not "upper" in the sense of north on our maps or somewhat higher in altitude. Teit's alternative terms of "Little Spokan" for the Little Spokane river valley peoples and "South Spokan" for those of the Latah valley are not objectionable except that they suggest a greater demarcation between these groups than existed.

Upper Spokane: snxwəmɛ'ne, "people of steelhead trout place" (from village name, nxwəmɛ'ne, village no. 20). See map, fig. 3. See Middle Spokane.

Nespelem: snspi·'lux^{u}, "prairie people, Nespelem people" (from village name, nspi·'ləm, no. 2). See map, fig. 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Sanpoil: snpui·'lux^{u}, "people of the gray country" (from village name, npui·'lux^{u}, no. 15). See map, fig. 4. See Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Southern Okanogan: also called the Sinkaietk; sɪnəq'aie'tk^{u}, (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. The southern boundary of this group is the least definite. A partial explanation is that the country south of the portion of the Columbia river on which Southern Okanogan villages were located is a vast desert waste, virtually unclaimed. More complete and definite information on boundaries and villages of this group will be available with the publication of Miss Velpha Walters' work (see footnote 34).

Colville: sxoie'lp^{u} (group name). See maps, figs. 1, 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," and Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

101 622 Chelan: tcɪtlȧ'n (group name). See map, fig. 5. The Chelan mixed freely with the Wenatchi, sharing at least one village (Chelan no. 1, Wenatchi no. 5) and using the upper Wenatchee river for salmon fishing. Informants declared, however, that one Chelan chief held more or less power over all Chelan villages.

101 Wenatchi: wɪnȧ'cɑ, "waters (large stream) flowing out" (Sahaptin word), npskwa'us (Salish [Wenatchi] name; group name?). See map, fig. 5.

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Columbia: nkə'eu's (group name). See map, figs. 1, 5. For further information consult Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish."

Kittitas: also called Ellensburg; pcwa'nwapam, "rock people" (from dialect name). See map, fig. 5.

Yakima: ya'kəmə, "pregnant ones" (group name ?). See map, fig. 5.

Klikitat: x̣wa'ƀx̣waipam (group name from dialect name, "Klikitat-speaking people"). See map, fig. 5. The word Klikitat is derived from a village name, xla'tixat, no. 1. The Klikitat shared hunting and gathering territories with the Wishram, White Salmon and Wayampam peoples who lived immediately south of them on the Columbia river. Klikitat territory on the west extended to the headwaters of the Lewis river.

Wayampam: waya'mpam (group name from dialect [?] name). See map, fig. 5. The Wayampam southern boundary is not yet known with any certainty.

Umatilla: yumati'la (from village name, i'matɬam, "lots of rocks," no. 1). See maps, figs. 1, 5. The highly irregular boundary was a concession to geographical conditions which would be quite apparent in a relief map. There seems to have been a greater concentration of population around one point among the Umatilla than anywhere else in the Columbia Basin, area for area.

Wanapam: wa'napam (from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 5. Teit assigns the Priest Rapids region to the Columbia[48] but the Wanapam now living there claim always to have held it. The actual boundaries, however, are still very much in doubt.

Wauyukma: wauyuk'ma', "old salmon trap [mythological reference]" (village name). This probably was but a single village together with its hunting and gathering territory.

Cayuse: waie·lɛtpu (group name from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 1.

Walula: also called Walla Walla; walu'la (group name). See map, fig. 1.

Palus: palu·'s (group name). See map, fig. 1. The eastern boundary of the Palus is not yet known.

[48]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 73.

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tinai'nu (1)[56] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2). 131* 173 361

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia.

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[57] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs." [101]

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[56] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[57] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

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fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river." But this further sentence, *in the same paragraph*, is neglected: "They [of the Columbia River] go to war to their [Snake] first villages in 12 days."[48] In other words, the local Sahaptins (Tenino) were the aggressors in this struggle with sufficient initiative to travel twelve days to the south in order to meet the enemy. A few miles downriver, at The Dalles (city), the distance to the enemy is estimated as four days' march, much less but yet considerable. A recent battle is mentioned, presumably conducted on Shoshonean ground.[49] These notations were made by the explorers on the downriver trip. Upon their return the following year they found the Indians of the vicinity still on the offensive: "They had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians. . . . They had been fortunate in the expedition and had taken from their enimies most of the horses which we saw in their possession."[50] Mooney aptly summarizes conditions for this period and later:

> Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian tribes and driven farther back to the south. . . . The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warmsprings reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later.[51]

Teit and Berreman use the term "Snake" as a specific tribal designation, and assume that in so doing they are following native practice. Their entire reconstructions stand or fall upon the validity of this assumption. Yet Sahaptin informants emphatically declare that they never used Snake as a tribal name, and that they are quite unaware of any such tribe. Instead, the term is used collectively for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute. The name came into familiar usage among the whites because it is the exclusive designation in sign language, the symbol being the same as that used for the reptile. In verbal speech specific names are applied to the various groups.

The distances separating the Shoshoneans from the Columbia River, as indicated in the texts and maps of Lewis and Clark, demonstrate that they were at least as far south in 1805 as during the early distribution outlined above.[52] And yet this is the period at which Teit and Berreman contend

[48] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also *idem*, Vol. 3, p. 168.
[49] *Idem*, Vol. 3, p. 163.
[50] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282. See also above.
[51] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 742.
[52] Except perhaps in the region of the Blue Mountains. See above.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

shoni tribes.[62] It disagrees with Ray's mapping of the Umatilla,[63] which gives to the latter terrain on both sides of the John Day. My information does not in any way substantiate Berreman's classification of the peoples in central eastern Oregon about 1850 in which he postulates Snake and Bannock groups in the north as opposed to Northern Paiute to the south.[64] The bands to the north and northeast, according to the information I secured from the Harney Valley group, were very similar to the Wada Eaters. The dialectic differences were slight. Their cultures differed in aspects of the food quest and material culture. The bands to the north and northwest made much more use of bark and juniper berries. The bands on the Snake had access to a larger quantity of fish, had dugout canoes, and more elaborate fishing techniques.[65] Intermarriage between these groups and those to the south in Nevada and Surprise Valley was common. The population was fluid; families of one band often becoming affiliated with neighboring groups. Furthermore, the group looked upon itself as a unit as opposed to Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. I secured no information which indicated the presence of a permanent Bannock group west of the Snake River in 1840–1850. The Bannock, according to the Wada Eaters' version, were a Northern Paiute group who migrated east across the Snake when the buffalo withdrew from Oregon. My material also disagrees with Berreman's allotment of the region around Gateway on the Deschutes River to the Tenino. I have no evidence which indicates the expansion of the Paiute bands at the expense of Sahaptin groups in the first half of the nineteenth century, except for occasional raids.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE

The name, Northern Paiute, is preferable to Paviotso for the Indians of the western Great Basin, because they call themselves Paiute, are called Paiute by their Indian neighbors, and are so termed in government reports; also because they form a cultural and linguistic unit much more extensive than Powell's Paviotso.

The Northern Paiute occupy the western part of the Great Basin in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The northern and western bound-

[62] Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

[63] Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin*, map, p. 5.

[64] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 47 f., 63 f., fig. 2.

[65] The northern and eastern bands seemed also to have owned and made more use of the horse.

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101
131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described—to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects—and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

000 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441-2, 504, 523-4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 196; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's*
131 *Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*,
181 p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally,
197 vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan....speak kindred dialects.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

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fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhapmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicute-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Maq.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Orn. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 207. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koctenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

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101/131 inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alène*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

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[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwater of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Ib.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitsuish*, and Coeur d'Alène, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiaripi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudieres*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

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[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

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Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah, Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. [304] [197] [177]

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. [361]

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pahawanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

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101 between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former
131 in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[154] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

141 The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many
147 tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

101 *dosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Boil-roil-pam, is the Klikatat country.' 'Its meaning
131 is "the Mouse country."' *Id.* The Yakima valley is a great national rendezvous for these and surrounding nations. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 19, 21. Kliketats, meaning robbers, was first the name given to the Whulwhypums, and then extended to all speaking the same language. For twenty-five
[361] years before 1854 they overran the Willamette Valley, but at that time were forced by government to retire to their own country. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7.

[154] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

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660 Plains.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Kalapuyas, above the falls of the Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 36. '50 miles from the mouth of the Wallaumut, W. side.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 368. Vale Puyas, Valley of the Willamette. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81.

The *Clackamas* are on the 'Clackama River.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'Clakemas et Kaoulis, sur le Ouallamet et la rivière Kaoulis.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Valley of the Clakamus and the Willamuta Falls.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81. Klackatnas, 'three miles below the falls.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 144. Clackamis. *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 81. Clarkameas. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Clackamus. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.*

The *Mollales* are found in 'Willamettee Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'At the mouth of the Wallamet, and the Wapatoo Islands. *Tucker's Oregon*, p. 71. 'Upon the west side of the Willamette and opposite Oregon City.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 84.

101/131 The Shushwap Family comprises all the inland tribes of British Columbia, south of lat. 52° 30'.

The *Atnahs*, Strangers, Niccoutamuch, or Shushwaps proper, inhabit the Fraser and Thompson valleys. 'At Spuzzum....a race very different both in habits and language is found. These are the Nicoutamuch, or Nicoutameens, a branch of a widely-extended tribe. They, with their cognate septs, the Atnahs, or Shuswapmuch, occupy the Frazer River from Spuzzum to the frontier of that part of the country called by the Hudson Bay Company New Caledonia, which is within a few miles of Fort Alexandria.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296. 'Shushwaps of the Rocky Mountains inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of Jasper House, and as far as Tete Jaune Cache on the western slope. They are a branch of the great Shushwap nation who dwell near the Shushwap Lake and grand fork of the Thompson River in British Columbia.' Thompson River and Lake Kamloops. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, pp. 241, 335. 'On the Pacific side, but near the Rocky Mountains, are the Shoushwaps who, inhabiting the upper part of Frazer's River, and the north fork of the Columbia.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'The Shôoshaps live below the Sinpaulish Indians.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'The Shushwaps possess the country bordering on the lower part of Frazer's River, and its branches.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. The Atnahs or Soushwap, 'live in the country on the Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers.' 'They were termed by Mackenzie the Chin tribe.' (See p. 251, note 141 of this vol.) *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427; *Buschmann, Brit. Nordamer.*, p. 320. Shooshaps, south of the Sinpavelist. *De Smet, Veg.*, pp. 50-1. 'The Atnah, or Chin Indian country extends about one hundred miles,' from Fort Alexander. *Coe's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 361. Shooshewaps inhabit the region of the north bend of the Columbia, in 52°. Atnahs, in the region of the Fraser and Thompson rivers. *Macdonald's Lecture on B. C.*, p. 10; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27. 'The Shewhapmuch (Atnahs of Mackenzie)....occupy the banks of Thompson's River; and along Frazer's River from the Rapid village, twenty miles below Alexandria,

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to the confluence of these two streams. Thence to near the falls the tribe bears the name of Nicutemuch.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76. 101/131

'The Stta Llimuh, natives of Anderson Lake, speak a dialect of the Shuswap language.' Skowhomish, in the same vicinity. *McKay*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. ii., p. 32.

'The Loquilt Indians have their home in the winter on Lake Anderson, and the surrounding district, whence they descend to the coast in Jervis Inlet in the summer.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 299.

The Kamloops dwell about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Okanagan. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 156.

The Clunsus are east of Fraser River, between Yale and latitude 50°; Skowtous, on the fiftieth parallel south of Lake Kamloops and west of Lake Okanagan; Sockatcheenum, east of Fraser and north of 51°. *Bancroft's Map of Pac. States.*

The *Kootenais* live in the space bounded by the Columbia River, Rocky Mountains, and Clarke River. The Kitunaha, Coutanies, or Flatbows, 'wander in the rugged and mountainous tract enclosed between the two northern forks of the Columbia. The Flat-bow River and Lake also belong to them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 204–5, map, p. 297. 'Inhabit the country extending along the foot of the Rocky mountains, north of the Flatheads, for a very considerable distance, and are about equally in American and in British territory.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. Kootoonais, 'on McGillivray's River, the Flat Bow Lake, etc.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Kootonais, on 'or about the fiftieth parallel at Fort Kootonie, east of Fort Colville.' *Simpson's Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 138. 'Between the Rocky Mountains, the Upper Columbia and its tributary the Kiluspehn or Pend'oreille, and watered by an intermediate stream called the Kootanais River is an angular piece of country peopled by a small, isolated tribe bearing the same name as the last-mentioned river, on the banks of which they principally live.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. The lands of the Cottonois 'lie immediately north of those of the Flatheads.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 70. Kutanàe, Kútani, Kitunaha, Kutneha, Coutanies, Flatbows, 'near the sources of the Mary River, west of the Rocky Mountains.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 98. 'Inhabit a section of country to the north of the Ponderas, along M'Gillivray's river.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Koutanies ou Arcs-Plats, Près du fort et du lac de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'In the Kootanie Valley.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 178. Kootonays, south of the Shushwaps. *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'Great longitudinal valley' of the Kootanie river. *Hector*, in *Id.*, p. 27. 'The Tobacco Plains form the country of the Kootanies.' *Blakiston*, in *Id.*, p. 73. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oyn.*, p. 30. Kootanais, 'angle between the Saelisa lands and the eastern heads of the Columbia.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 79. About the river of the same name, between the Columbia and Rocky Mountains. *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 143. A band called Sinatcheggs on the upper Arrow Lake. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. The Kootenais were perhaps the Tushepaws of Lewis and Clarke.

The *Tushepaws* are 'a numerous people of four hundred and fifty tents, residing on the heads of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and some of

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101/121 them lower down the latter river.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 321, and map; *Bulfinch's Om.*, p. 134. 'On a N. fork of Clarke's River.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Ootlashoots, Micksucksealton (Pend d'Oreilles?), Hohilpos (Flatheads?), branches of the Tushepaws. *Id.*; and *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* The Tushepaw nation might as correctly be included in the Salish family or omitted altogether. According to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417, they were the Kootenais.

The *Okanagans*, or Okinakanes, 'comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Tekunratum at the mouth; Konekonep, on the creek of that name; Kluckhaitkwee, at the falls; Kinakanes, near the forks; and Milaketkun, on the west fork. With them may be classed the N'Pockle, or Sans Puelles, on the Columbia river, though these are also claimed by the Spokanes. The two bands on the forks are more nearly connected with the Schwogelpi than with the ones first named.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 237, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. Oakinackens, Priests' Rapids, northward over 500 miles, and 100 miles in width, to the Shewhaps, branching out into 12 tribes, as follows, beginning with the south: 'Skamoynumachs, Kewaughtchenunaughs, Pisscows, Incomecanétook, Tsillane, Intiétook, Battlelemuleemauch, or Meatwho, Inspellum, Sinpohellechach, Sinwhoyelppetook, Samilkanuigh and Oakinacken, which is nearly in the centre.' *Ross' Advcn.*, pp. 289–90. 'On both sides the Okanagan River from its mouth up to British Columbia, including the Sennelkameen River.' *Ross*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'Près du fort de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.* tom. ii., p. 335. 'On the Okanagan and Piscour Rivers.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. 'Composed of several small bands living along the Okinakane river, from its confluence with the Columbia to Lake Okinakane.... A majority of the tribe live north of the boundary line.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'Columbia Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 490. Northeast and west of the Shoopshaps. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 51. Junction of the Okanagan and Columbia. *Parker's Map.* 'Upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Principal family called Conconulps about 9 miles up stream of the same name. *Ross' Advcn.*, pp. 289–90. The Similkameen live on S. river, and 'are a portion of the Okanagan tribe.' *Palmer*, in *B. Col. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 85. The Okanagans, called Caisanim by Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Cutsahnim, on the Columbia above the Sokulks, and on the northern branches of the Taptul. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372.

The Salish Family includes all the inland tribes between 49° and 47°. The Salish, Saalis, Selish, or Flatheads, 'inhabit the country about the upper part of the Columbia and its tributary streams, the Flathead, Spokan, and Okanagan Rivers. The name includes several independent tribes or bands, of which the most important are the Salish proper, the Kullespelm, the Souyalpi, the Tsakaitsitlin, and the Okinakan.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'The Saeliss or Shewhapmuch race, whose limits may be defined by the Rocky Mountains eastward; on the west the line of Fraser's river from below Alexandria to Kequeloose, near the Falls, in about

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latitude 49° 50′; northward by the Carrier offset of the Chippewyans; and south by the Sahaptins or Nez Percés of Oregon.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 73. 'From Thompson's River other septs of this race—the Shuswaps, Skowtons, Okanagans, Spokans, Skoielpoi (of Colville), Pend'oreilles, and Coeurs d'Aleines—occupy the country as far as the Flathead Passes of the Rocky Mountains, where the Saelies or Flatheads form the eastern portion of the race.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 296-7. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 30; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. Tribes mentioned in *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, and map: Tushepaw (Kootenai), Hopilpo (Flathead), Micksucksealtom (Pend d'Oreilles), Wheelpo, (Chualpays), Sarlisto and Sketsomish (Spokanes), Hehighenimmo (Sans Poils), according to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. See *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. 'Between the two great branches of the Columbia and the Rocky Mountains are only five petty tribes: the Kootanais and Selish, or Flatheads, at the foot of the mountains, and the Pointed Hearts, Pend d'Oreilles, and Spokanes lower down.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. 'Divided into several tribes, the most important of which are the Selishes, the Kullespelms, the Soayalpis, the Tsakaitsitlins, and the Okinakans.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55–6.

The *Flatheads*, or Salish proper, reside on the river, valley, and lake of the same name. 'Inhabit St. Mary's or the Flathead Valley and the neighborhood of the lake of the same name.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415, and in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207. 'Occupying the valleys between the Bitter Root and Rocky mountains.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'South of the Flathead Valley on the Bitter Root.' *Sully*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 192. St. Mary's River. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. 'East and south-east (of the Coeurs d'Alène) and extends to the Rocky Mountains.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 311, and map. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. Saalis ou faux Têtes-Plates. Sur la rivière de ce nom au pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Along the foot of the mountains.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 213. 'In New Caledonia, W. of the Rocky Mountains.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 371. Bitter Root valley. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455, 1865, p. 246; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Hopilpo, of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. 'Ils occupent le pays compris entre le Lewis River et la branche nord-ouest ou la Columbia, et borné en arrière par les Monts-Rocailleux. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43.

The *Pend d'Oreilles* occupy the vicinity of the lake of the same name. 'On the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. 'At Clark's Fork.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. Lower Pend d'Oreilles, 'in the vicinity of the St. Ignatius Mission.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake, inhabit the country north of the Coeur d'Alenes and around the Kalispelm lake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Calispels, or Calispellum, 'on Fool's Prairie at the head of Colville Valley, and on both sides of the Pend d'Oreille River, from its mouth to the Idaho line, but principally at the Camas Prairie.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, pp. 22, 25, 192. Situated to the east of Fort Colville, adjoining the Kootonais on their eastern border. *Simp-*

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son's *Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 146. 'Pend'oreilles ou Kellespem. Au-dessous du fort Colville.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Skatkmlschi, or Pend d'Oreilles of the upper lake. A tribe who, by the consent of the Selish, occupy jointly with them the country of the latter. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Kullas-Palus, 'on the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Ponderas, 'north of Clarke's river and on a lake which takes its name from the tribe.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312 and map; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 32. The Pend'oreilles were probably the Micksucksealtom of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

Tribes baptized by De Smet: Thlishatkmuche, Stietshoi, Zingomenes, Shaistche, Shuyelpi, Tschilsolomi, Siur Poils, Tinabsoti, Yinkaceous, Yejak-oun, all of same stock.

Tribes mentioned by Morse as living in the vicinity of Clarke River: Coopspellar, Lahama, Lartielo, Hihighenimmo, Wheelpo, Skeetsomish. *Rept.*, p. 372.

The *Coeurs d'Aléne* 'live about the lake which takes its name from them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 209. East of the Spokanes, at headwaters of the Spokane River. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'The Skitswish or Coeur d'Alenes, live upon the upper part of the Coeur d'Alene river, above the Spokanes, and around the lake of the same name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Their mission is on the river ten miles above the lake and thirty miles from the mountains. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 216. Stietshoi, or Coeur d'Alenes on the river, and about the lake. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map, vol. v., p. 490. Pointed Hearts, 'shores of a lake about fifty miles to the eastward of Spokan House.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 150; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143; *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'St. Joseph's river.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49.

The *Colvilles* include the tribes about Kettle Falls, and the banks of the Columbia up to the Arrow Lakes. 'Colville valley and that of the Columbia river from Kettle Falls to a point thirty miles below.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Colvilles, whose tribal name is Swielpree, are located in the Colville Valley, on the Kettle River, and on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls down to the mouth of the Spokane.' *Winans*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 22. Colvilles and Spokanes, 'near Fort Colville.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82.

The Lakes, 'whose tribal name is Senijextee, are located on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls north to British Columbia.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'So named from their place of residence, which is about the Arrow Lakes.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Les sauvages des Lacs . . . résident sur le Lac-aux-flèches.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50.

The Chaudières, or Kettle Falls, reside 'about Colville.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. The village of Les Chaudières 'is situated on the north side just below the fall.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 358. Chaudières 'live south of the Lake Indians.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. 'Fort Colville is the principal ground of the Schwoyelpi or Kettle Falls tribe.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 413. 'The tribe in the vicinity (of Fort Colville) is known as the Chaudiere, whose territory reaches as far up as the Columbia Lakes.' *Simp-*

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son's *Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 151. 'Gens des Chaudières. Près du lac Schouchouap au-dessous des Dalles.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Called in their own language, Chualpays.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 308–9. 'Called Quiarlpi (Basket People).' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 472. The Chualpays called Wheelpo by Lewis and Clarke, and by Morse. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Spokanes* live on the Spokane river and plateau, along the banks of the Columbia from below Kettle Falls, nearly to the Okanagan. 'The Spokihnish, or Spokanes, lie south of the Schrooyelpi, and chiefly upon or near the Spokane river. The name applied by the whites to a number of small bands, is that given by the Coeur d'Alene to the one living at the forks. They are also called Sinkoman, by the Kootonies. These bands are eight in number: the Sinslihhooish, on the great plain above the crossings of the Coeur d'Alene river; the Sintootoolish, on the river above the forks; the Smahoomenaish (Spokehnish), at the forks, the Skaischilt'nish, at the old Chemakane mission; the Skecheramouse, above them on the Colville trail; the Scheeetstish, the Sinpoilschne, and Sinspeelish, on the Columbia river; the last-named band is nearly extinct. The Sinpoilschne (N'pochle, or Sans Puelles) have always been included among the Okinakanes, though, as well as the Sinspeelish below them, they are claimed by the Spokanes. The three bands on the Columbia all speak a different language from the rest.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 220, 236; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 414–15. 'This tribe claim as their territory the country commencing on the large plain at the head of the Slawntehus—the stream entering the Columbia at Fort Colville; thence down the Spokane to the Columbia, down the Columbia half way to Fort Okinakane, and up the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene, to some point between the falls and the lake, on the latter.' *Id.*, p. 414. 'Inhabit the country on the Spokane river, from its mouth to the boundary of Idaho.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'At times on the Spokane, at times on the Spokane plains.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'Principally on the plains.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 157. 'North-east of the Palooses are the Spokein nation.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'Au-dessous du fort Okanagam à l'Est.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Au nord-ouest des Palooses se trouve la nation des Spokanes.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. 'Have a small village at the entrance of their river, but their chief and permanent place of residence is about forty miles higher up .... where the Pointed-heart River joins the Spokan from the south-east.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 147. 'The Spokanes, whose tribal names are Sineequomenach, or Upper, Sintootoo, or Middle Spokamish, and Chekasschee, or Lower Spokanes, living on the Spokane River, from the Idaho line to its mouth.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23. Spokane, the Sarlilso and Sketsomish of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Sans Poils* (Hairless), or 'Sanpoils, which includes the Nespelum Indians, are located on the Columbia, from the mouth of the Spokane down to Grand Coulée (on the south of the Columbia), and from a point opposite the mouth of the Spokane down to the mouth of the Okanagan on the north side of the Columbia, including the country drained by the Sanpoil, and

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Nespeelum Creeks.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. Sinpoilish, west of the Columbia between Priest Rapids and Okanagan. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map. Sinpouelish, west of the Kettle Falls Indians. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'Simpoualls. Près des grands rapides du Rio Colombia.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Sinpavelist, west of the Chaudières. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. Sinapoils, 'occupy a district on the northern banks of the Columbia, between the Spokan and Okinagan rivers.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 145. Hehighenimmo of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Pisquouse* inhabit the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. Piskwaus, or Piscous; 'name properly belongs to the tribe who live on the small river which falls into the Columbia on the west side, about forty miles below Fort Okanagan. But it is here extended to all the tribes as far down as Priest's Rapids.' The map extends their territory across the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210, and map, p. 197. Pisquouse, 'immediately north of that of the Yakamas.' 'On the Columbia between the Priest's and Ross Rapids.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 233; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. 'Piscaous. Sur la petite rivière de ce nom à l'Ouest de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335.

The Shamoynumacks live on the banks of the Columbia, at Priest Rapids, near the mouth of the Umatilla. Thirty miles distant up the river are the Kewaughtohenemachs. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 134, 137.

'The Mithouies are located on the west side of the Columbia River, from the mouth of the Okanagan down to the Wonatchee, and includes the country drained by the Mithouie, Lake Chelan, and Enteeatook Rivers.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23.

'The Isle de Pierres, whose tribal name is Linkinse, are located on the east and south side of the Col. Riv. from Grand Coulée down to Priests' Rapids, which includes the peninsula made by the great bend of the Col.' *Ib.*

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY is situated immediately south of the Salish. Only six of the eight nations mentioned below have been included in the Family by other authors. 'The country occupied by them extends from the Dalles of the Columbia to the Bitter-Root mountains, lying on both sides of the Columbia and upon the Kooskooskie and Salmon Forks of Lewis' and Snake River, between that of the Selish family on the north, and of the Snakes on the south.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'The first and more northern Indians of the interior may be denominated the Shahaptan Family, and comprehends three tribes; the Shahaptan, or Nez Percés of the Canadians; the Kliketat, a scion from the Shahaptans who now dwell near Mount Rainier, and have advanced toward the falls of the Columbia; and the Okanagan, who inhabit the upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Hale's map, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 197, divides the territory among the Nez Percés, Walla-Wallas, Waiilaptu, and Molele. 'The Indians in this district (of the Dalles) are Dog River, Wascos, Tyicks, Des Chutes, John Day, Utilla, Cayuses, Walla-Walla, Nez Percés, Mountain Snakes and Bannacks.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1859, p. 435.

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'The different tribes attached to Fort Nez Percés, and who formerly went by that cognomen, are the Shamooinaugh, Skammaminaugh, E'yackimah, Ispipewhumaugh, and Inaspetsum. These tribes inhabit the main north branch above the Forks. On the south branch are the Palletto Pallas, Shawhaapten or Nez Percés proper, Pawluch, and Cosispa tribes. On the main Columbia, beginning at the Dallas, are the Necootimeigh, Wisscopam, Wisswhams, Wayyampas, Lowhim, Sawpaw, and Youmatalla bands.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 185–6. Cathlakahikits, at the rapids of Columbia river, N. side; Chippanchickchicks, 'N. side of Columbia river, in the long narrows, a little below the falls.' Hellwits, 'at the falls of Columbia river;' Ithkyemanits, 'on Columbia river, N. side near Chippanchickchicks;' Yehah, 'above the rapids.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 368–70.

The *Nez Percés* 'possess the country on each side of the Lewis or Snake River, from the Peloose to the Wapticacoes, about a hundred miles—together with the tributary streams, extending, on the east, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 551. 'On both sides of the Kooskooskia and north fork of Snake river.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416; and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 217. 'A few bands of the Nez Percés Indians occupy the Salmon river and the Clearwater.' *Thompson*, in *Id.*, p. 282. 'The Nez Percés country is bounded west by the Palouse river and the Tucannon; on the north by the range of mountains between Clear Water and the Coeur d'Alene; east by the Bitter Root mountains; on the south they are bounded near the line dividing the two Territories.' *Craig*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 353. The Buffalo, a tribe of the Nez Perces, winter in the Bitter Root Valley. *Owen*, in *Id.*, 1859, p. 424. 'Upper waters and mountainous parts of the Columbia. *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. 'Country lying along Lewis river and its tributaries from the eastern base of the Blue Mountains to the Columbia.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 55. Nez Percés or Sahaptins, 'on the banks of the Lewis Fork or Serpent River.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 'Chohoptins, or Nez-Percés,....on the banks of Lewis River.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oga.*, p. 30. 'The Lower Nez Percés range upon the Wayleeway, Immahah, Yenghies, and other of the streams west of the mountains.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Some Flatheads live along the Clearwater River down to below its junction with the Snake. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 212. Country 'drained by the Kooskooskie, westward from the Blackfoot country, and across the Rocky Mountains.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, p. 533. 'Près du fort de ce nom, à la jonction des deux branches du fleuve.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Junction of Snake and Clearwater. *Parker's Explor. Tour, Map.* Chopunnish. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 331, and map. Copunnish. *Bulfinch's Oregon*, p. 144. 'The Nez-Percés are divided into two classes, the Nez-Percés proper, who inhabit the mountains, and the Poloneches, who inhabit the plain country about the mouth of the Snake River.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. Chopunnish, 'on Lewis river below the entrance of the Kooskooskee, on both sides.' 'On the Kooskooskee river below the forks, and on Cotter's creek.' Bands of the Chopunnish: Pelloatpallah, Kimmooenim, Yeletpoo, Willewah, Soyennom. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369.

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The *Palouse*, or 'the Palus, usually written Paloose, live between the Columbia and the Snake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vi. 'The Peloose tribe has a stream called after it which empties into Lewis River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. Upon the Peloose River. 'Entrance of Great Snake River and surrounding country.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105, 245. 'Properly a part of the Nez Percés. Their residence is along the Nez Percé river and up the Pavilion.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. In three bands; at the mouth of the Pelouse River; on the north bank of Snake River, thirty miles below the Pelouse; and at the mouth of the Snake River. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 222–3, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 150–1. Palouse, or Pelonse, 'reside on the banks of the Palouse and Snake rivers.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-Percés .. elle habite les bords des deux rivières des Nez-percés et du Pavilion.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. Selloatpallah, north of the Snake, near its confluence with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Same as the Sewatpalla. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Walla-Wallas* 'occupy the country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'A number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river to a little east of the Peluse.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 402. 'Are on a small stream which falls into the Columbia near Fort Nez-percés.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'Inhabit the country about the river of the same name, and range some distance below along the Columbia.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. 'Upon the banks of the Columbia, below the mouth of the Lewis Fork are found the Walla-wallas.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, p. 535. 'Oualla-Oualla, au-dessus du fort des Nez Percés.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Under this term are embraced a number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river, to a little east of the Pelouse; as also the Klikatats and Yakamas, north of the former.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 'On both sides of the Columbia river between Snake river and Hudson Bay fort, Walla-Walla.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374. Walla Wallapum. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244-7. 'Les Walla-walla habitent, sur la rivière du même nom, l'un des tributaires de la Colombie, et leur pays s'étend aussi le long de ce fleuve.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. Wollaw Wollah. South side of the Snake, at junction with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Wollaolla and Wollawalla, 'on both sides of Col., as low as the Muscleshell rapid, and in winter pass over to the Taptul river.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 369–70. 'Country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Walawaltz nation about the junction of the Snake and Columbia. On Walla Walle River. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 234–8. 'On both banks of the Columbia, from the Blue Mountains to the Dalles.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 151. Wallah Wallah. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 142. 'About the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, pp. 143, 151. Wallawallahs, 'reside along the lower part of the Walla Walla, the low bottom of the Umatilla and the Columbia, from the mouth of Lewis River for one hundred miles south.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 58, 124. 'On the borders of

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the Wallahwallah and Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 37.

The Sciatogas and Toustchipas live on Canoe River (Tukanon ?), and the Enotalla (Touchet ?), the Akaltchis 'sur le Big-river,' (Columbia). *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., pp. 74–8. The Sciatogas 'possède le pays borné au sud-est par la Grande-Plaine; au nord, par le Lewis-River; à l'ouest par la Columbia; au sud par l'Onalamat.' *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 42.

The *Cayuses* extend from John Day River eastward to Grande Ronde Valley. The Cayuse, Cailloux, Waiilatpu, 'country south of the Sahaptin and Wallawalla. Their head-quarters are on the upper part of Wallawalla River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 214, map, p. 197. 'The country belonging to the Cayuse is to the south of and between the Nez Perces and Walla-Wallas, extending from the Des Chutes, or Wanwanwi, to the eastern side of the Blue mountains.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 218; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. 'On the west side of the Blue mountains and south of the Columbia river.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'Occupy a portion of the Walla-Walla valley.' *Dennison*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 374; *Cain*, in *Id.*, 1859, pp. 413–14. 'À l'ouest des Nez-perces sont les Kayuses.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. The Kayouse dwell upon the Utalla or Emmutilly River. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 122. 'West of the Nez Percés.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 309, and map. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 30. 'Kayouses. Près du grand détour de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Waiilatpu, Molele, called also Willetpoos, Cayuse, 'western Oregon, south of the Columbia river.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 199; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Cæguas 'inhabit the country bordering on Wallawalla river and its tributaries, the Blue mountains and Grand round.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54–6. Wyeilat or Kyoose, country to the south of Walla Walla. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–5. The Skyuses 'dwell about the waters of the Wayleeway and the adjacent country.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 288.

The Willewah 'reside on the Willewah river, which falls into the Lewis river on the S.W. side, below the forks.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. In Grande Ronde Valley. *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The Umatillas 'live near the junction of the Umatilla and Columbia rivers.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 97. Umatallow River and country extending thence westward to Dalles. *Tolmie*, in *Id.*, p. 245. 'The Utillas occupy the country along the river bearing that name.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374.

The Wahowpum live 'on the N. branch of the Columbia, in different bands from the Pishquitpahs; as low as the river Lapage; the different bands of this nation winter on the waters of Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. On John Day's River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Wascos* include all the tribes between the Cascade Range and John Day River, south of the Columbia. 'They are known by the name of Wasco Indians, and they call their country around the Dallas, Wascopam. They claim the country extending from the cascades up to the falls of the

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Columbia, the distance of about fifty miles.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 159. 'The Wascos occupy a small tract of country near to and adjoining the Dalles.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 372. On both sides of the Columbia about the Dalles are the Wascopams *Map*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200. Eneshur, Echeloots, Chillukkitequaw and Sinacshop occupy the territory, on *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370. The Tchipantchicktchick, Cathlassis, Ilttekaimamita, and Tchelouits about the Dalles. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 26; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

'The residence of the Molele is (or was) in the broken and wooded country about Mounts Hood and Vancouver.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p 214. The Mollales have their home in the Willamette Valley. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492.

'The Tairtla, usually called Taigh, belong....to the environs of the Des-Chutes River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii.

'The Des Chutes....formerly occupied that section of country between the Dalles and the Tyich river.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 373.

'The Tyichs....formerly occupied the Tyich valley and the country in its vicinity, which lies about 30 miles south of Fort Dalles.' *Ib.*

'The John Day Rivers occupy the country in the immediate vicinity of the river bearing that name.' *Ib.*

'The Dog River, or Cascade Indians reside on a small stream called Dog river, which empties into the Columbia river, about half way between the Cascades and Dalles.' *Id.*, p. 371. The Cascades dwell 'on the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143.

The *Yakimas* occupy the valley of the Yakima River and its branches. 'The upper Yakimas occupy the country upon the Wenass and main branch of the Yakima, above the forks; the Lower upon the Yakima and its tributaries, below the forks and along the Columbia from the mouth of the Yakima to a point three miles below the Dalles.' *Robie*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 350. Three bands, Wishhams, Clickahut, and Skien, along the Columbia. *Id.*, p. 352. 'The Pshwanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas, inhabit the Yakama River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Lewis and Clarke's Chanwappan, Shaltattos, Squamaroos, Skaddals, and Chimnahpum, on the Yakima River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. The Yakimas 'are divided into two principal bands, each made up of a number of villages, and very closely connected; one owning the country on the Nahchess and Lower Yakima, the other are upon the Wenass and main branch above the forks.' *Id.*, p. 407. Yackamans, northern banks of the Columbia and on the Yackamans river. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. On the Yakima. *Hale's Ethnog., U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'South of the Long Rapids, to the confluence of Lewis' river with the Columbia, are the Yookoomans.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. Pishwanwapum (Yakima), in Yakimaw or Eyakema Valley. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7. Called Stobshaddat by the Sound Indians. *Id.*, p. 245.

The Chimnapums are 'on the N.W. side of Col. river, both above and below the entrance of Lewis' r. and the Taptul r.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. The 'Chunnapums and Chanwappans are between the

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Cascade Range and the north branch of the Columbia.' *Nicolay's Oga. Ter.*, p. 143. 101/131

The Pisquitpahs, 'on the Muscleshell rapids, and on the N. side of the Columbia, to the commencement of the high country; this nation winter on the waters of the Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370.

The Sokulks dwell north of the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351, and map; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. At Priest Rapids. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Klikatats* live in the mountainous country north of the Cascades, on both sides of the Cascade Range, and south of the Yakimas. Klikatats 'inhabit, properly, the valleys lying between Mounts St. Helens and Adams, but they have spread over districts belonging to other tribes, and a band of them is now located as far south as the Umpqua.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 403. 'Roilroilpam is the Klikatat country, situated in the Cascade mountains north of the Columbia and west of the Yakamas.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Wander in the wooded country about Mount St. Helens.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'In the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 113. Klikatats. 'Au-dessus du fort des Nez-Percés.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'The Kliketat, a scion from the Sahaptans, who now dwell near Mount Rainier and have advanced towards the falls of the Columbia.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. On *Lewis and Clarke's Map* the Kliketat territory is occupied by the Chanwappan, Shallatos, Squamaros, Skaddels, Shahalas. Also in *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Whulwhypum, or Kliketat, 'in the wooded and prairie country between Vancouver and the Dalles.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

The Weyehhoo live on the north side of the Columbia, near Chusattes River. (Kliketat.) *Gass' Jour.*, p. 288.

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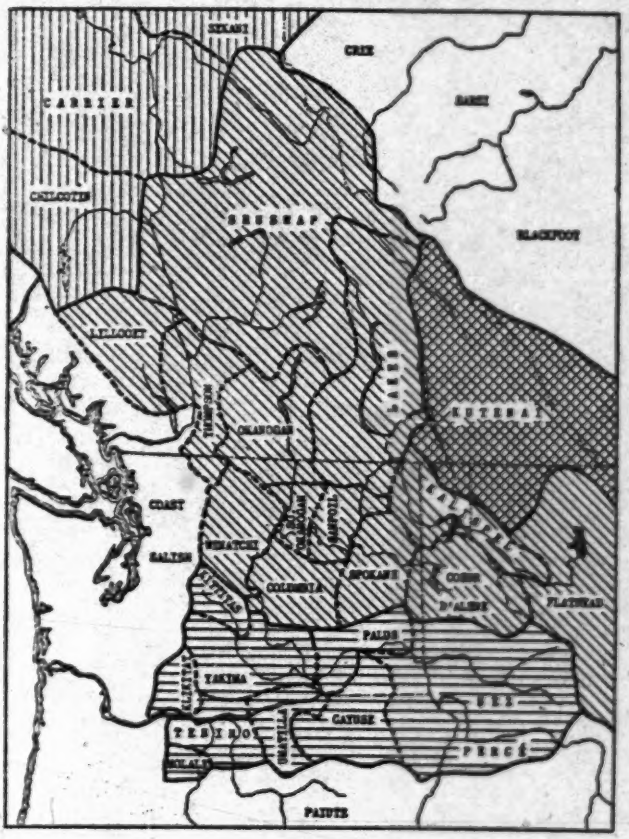

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

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Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[2] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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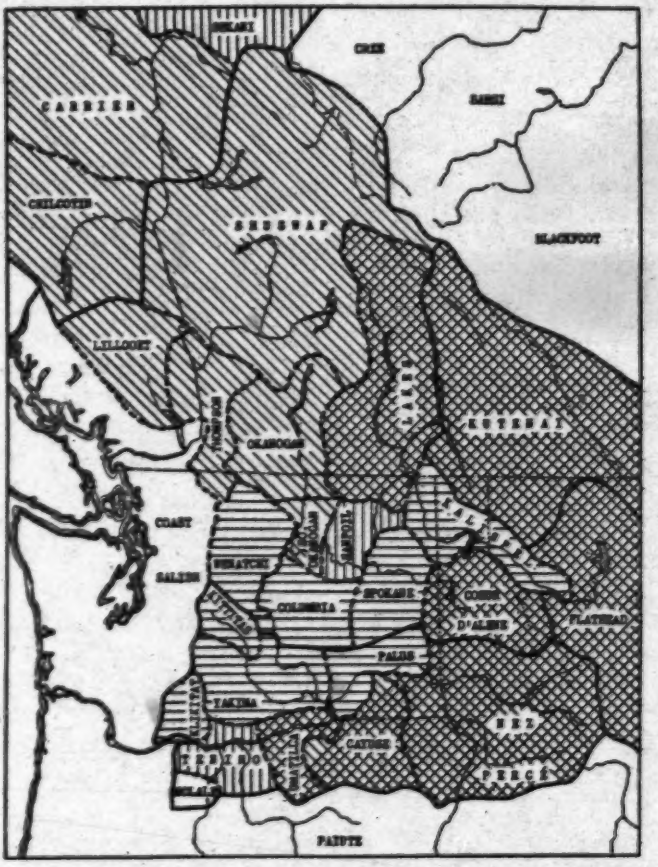
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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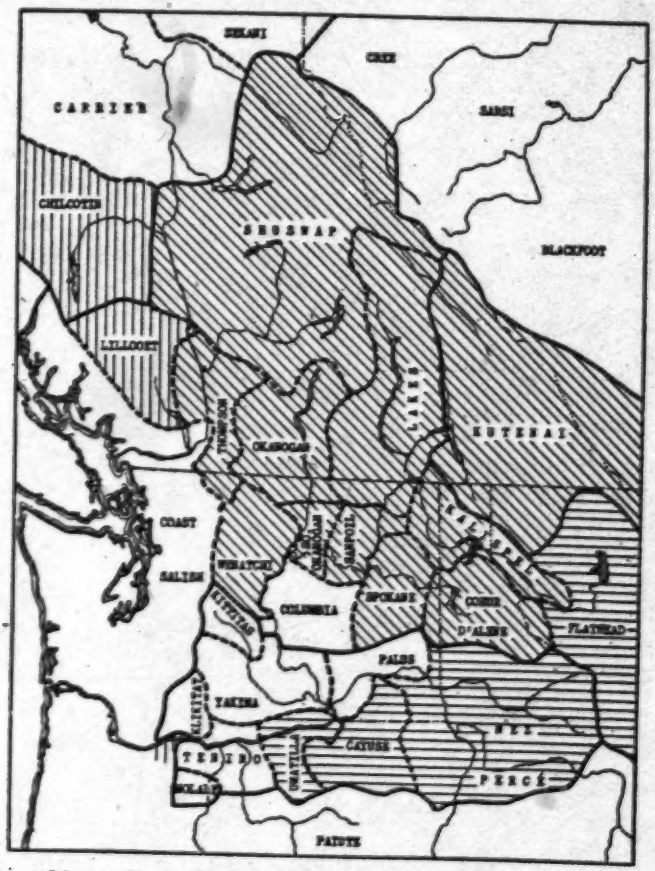

MAP 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

622 be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

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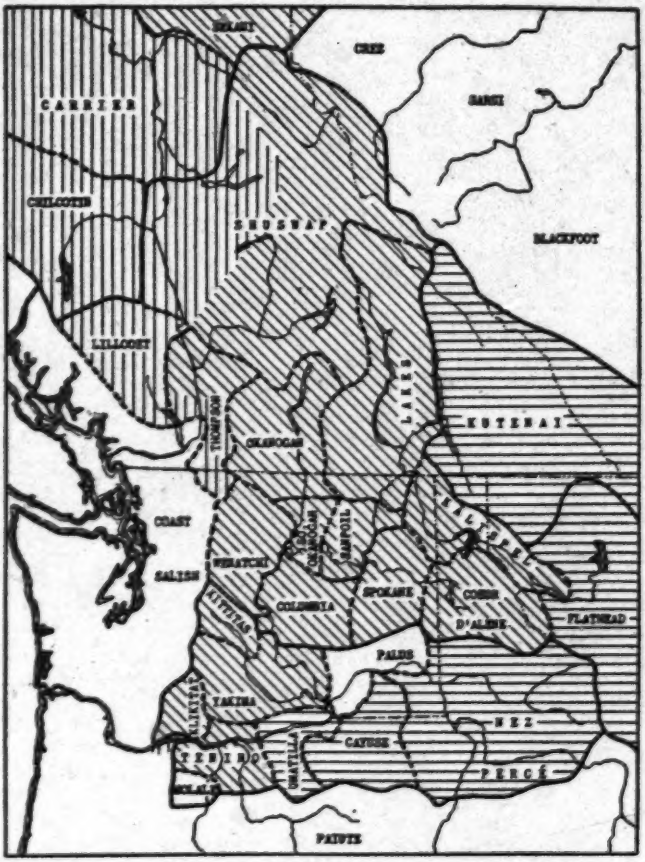
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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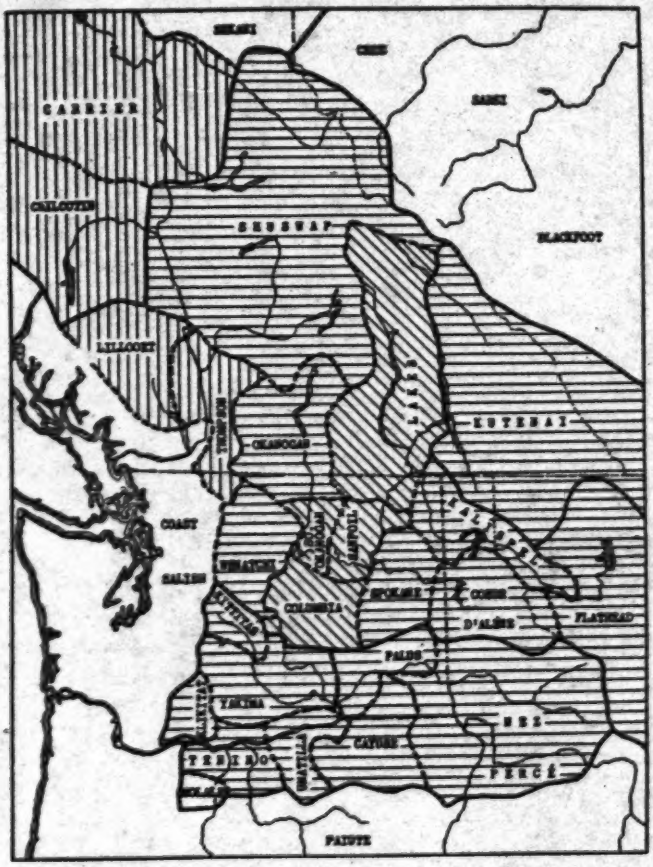
a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage.

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-



MAP 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too,

> slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

764 is available, horses are tethered on top of the fresh grave to eradicate all indications of the burial. Grave markers naturally are not used by them. In other parts of the southern Plateau, erect sticks or simple posts are used to indicate the location. The Umatilla do not follow this prac-

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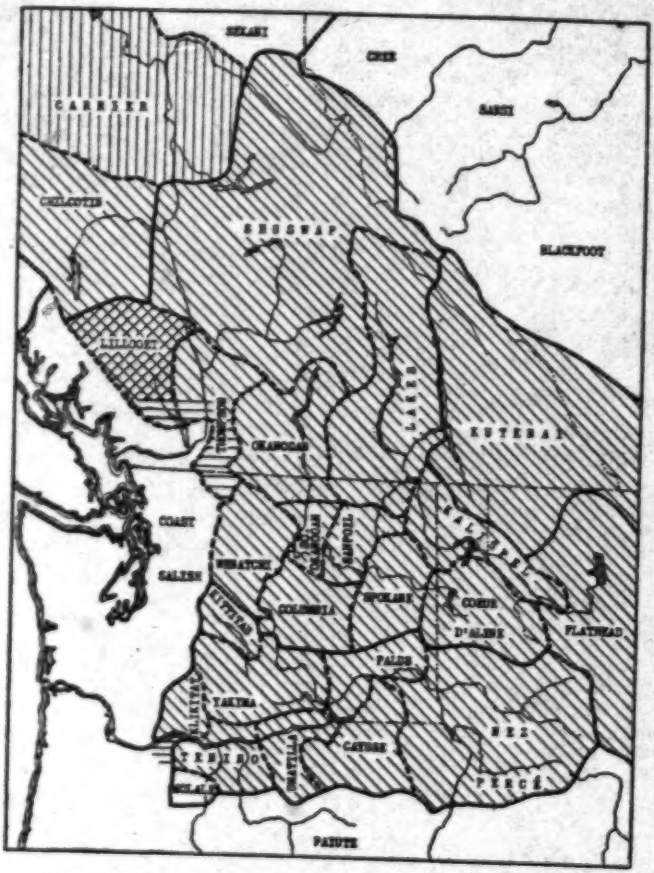
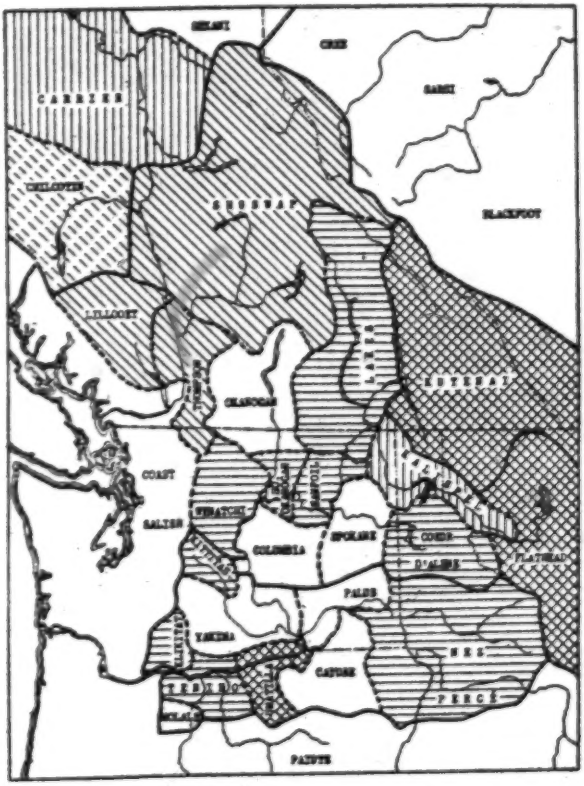


MAP 6. Disposal of the dead: dominant forms. *Vertical hatching:* cremation; *cross hatching:* basket burial and inhumation; *horizontal hatching:* box or house burial; *diagonal hatching:* inhumation.

764 tice but use a large rock instead. The Kutenai place a pole on the ground on each side of the mound left after filling the grave. In other parts of the Canadian Plateau more elaborate grave markers are used.

Over most graves [of the Upper Thompson] were erected conical huts

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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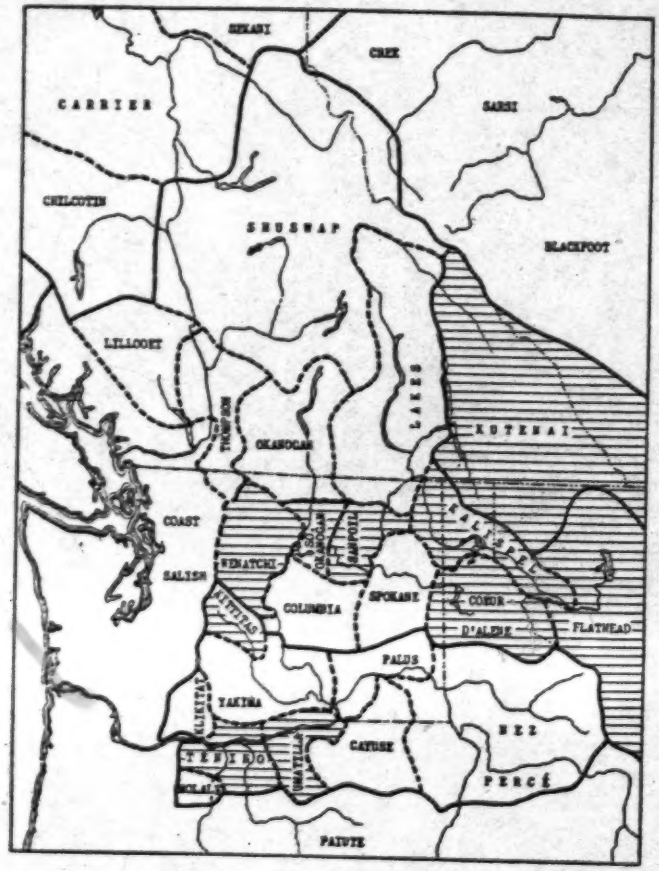

MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

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Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disintegrates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

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kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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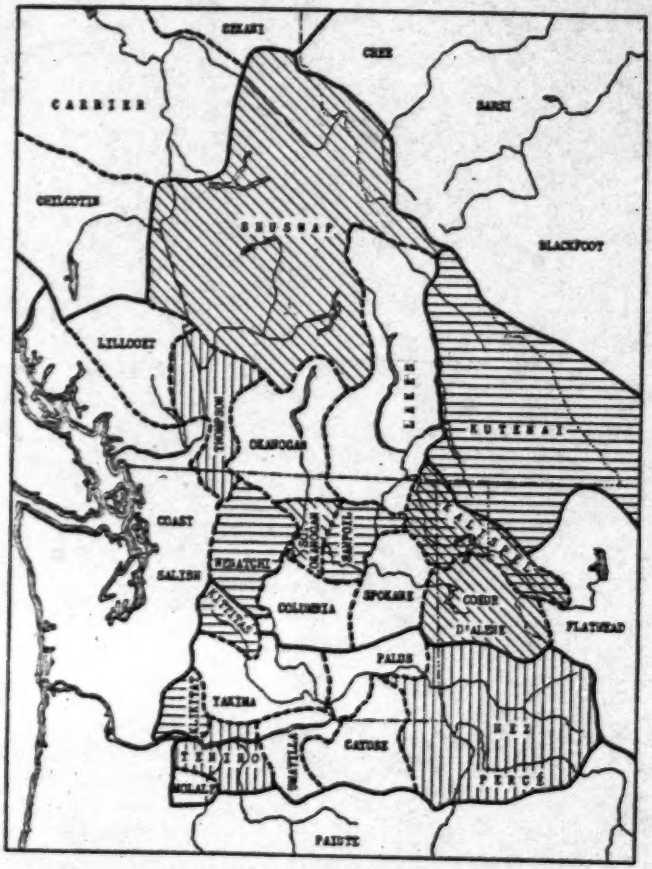

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

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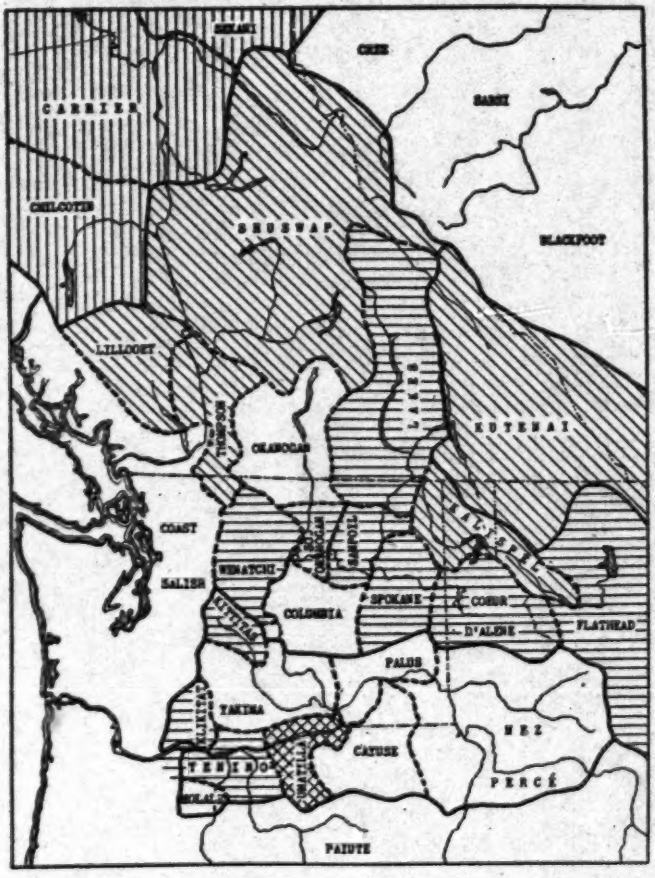
here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far



MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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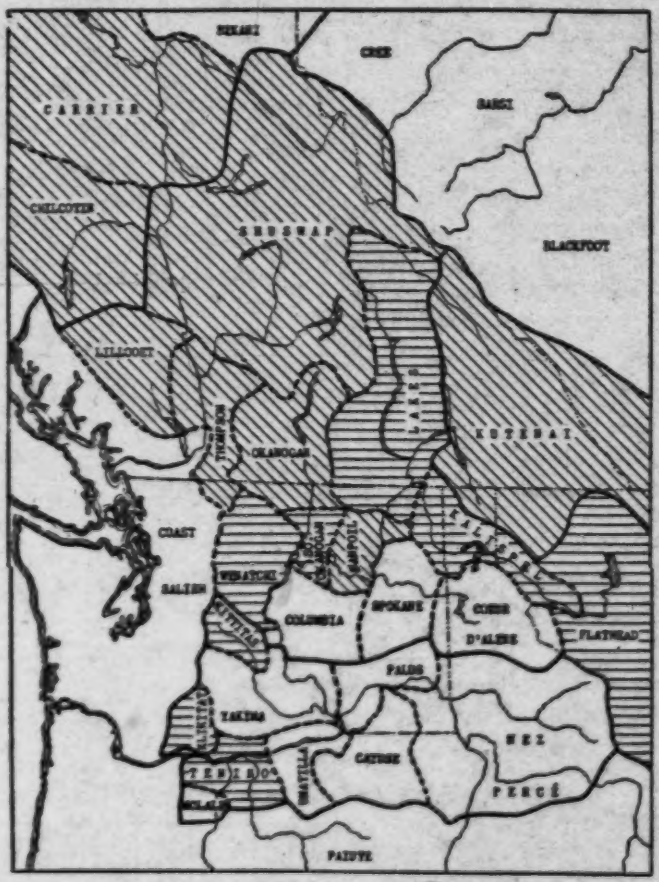

MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching:* special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching:* specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

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753 guardian spirit that gains entrance. The latter case may be termed "intrusion of a foreign spirit" but it must be remembered that the spirit involved is invariably a guardian spirit; no spirits outside this category are given attention in the Plateau. Furthermore, the spirit is invariably

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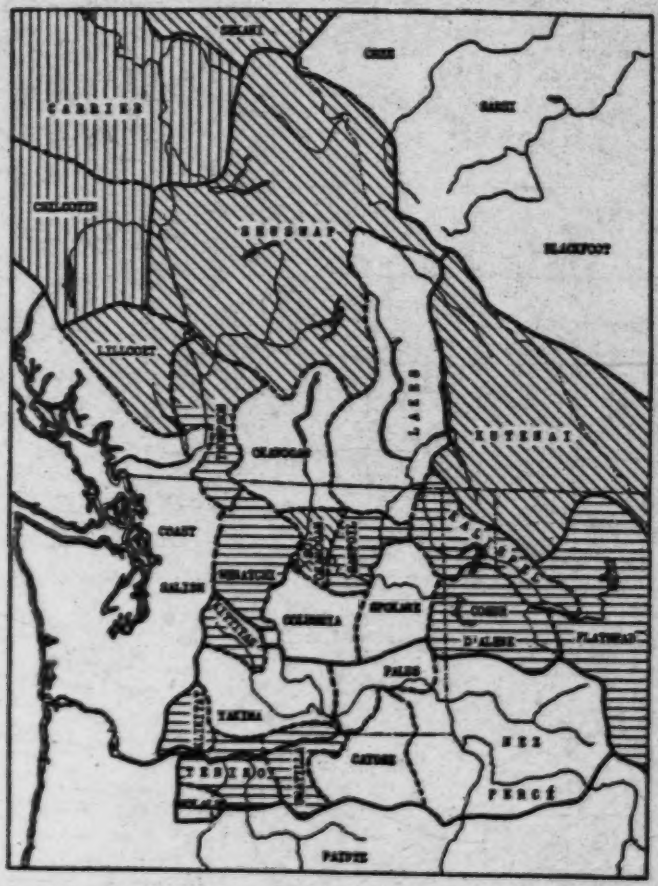

MAP 12. Disease by intrusion. *Vertical hatching:* intrusive object; *diagonal hatching:* spirit causes intrusion of object; *horizontal hatching:* intrusive object, intrusive spirit.

753 non-human in essence; it should not be confused with the human soul.

The *intrusive object* theory is widespread, encompassing the whole of the Plateau, and, of course, a vastly wider area. The more limited distribution of the *intrusive spirit* theory gives it greater significance for

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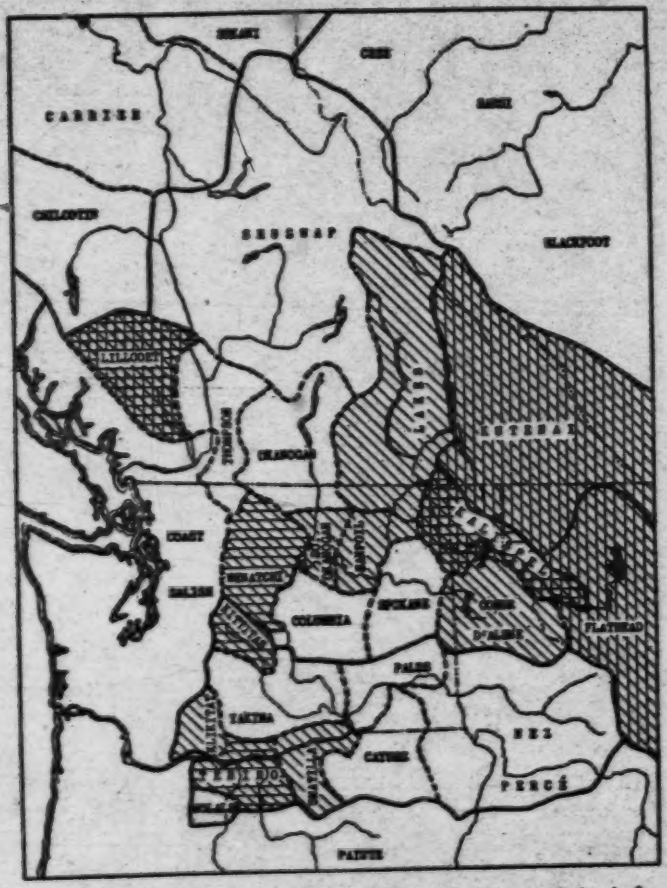
the time of acquisition until maturity, the return is marked by a physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness (see above). Sometimes this illness recurs at the opening of each dance season for several winters. Wherever this occurs an obvious link with



MAP 13. Spirit loss illness. *Diagonal hatching:* shamanistic theft; *horizontal hatching:* desertion due to mistreatment; *vertical hatching:* loss by wandering away.

the Coast is indicated, since there spirits are absent except during the winter season and each annual return is accompanied by physical reactions. The Plateau distribution of personal guardian spirit illness is beautifully illustrative of upriver influence along the Columbia. It oc-

753 curs with the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil.[41] The specific coastal pattern, illness each winter, does not extend as far upriver as might be anticipated. It is found among the Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, and probably Wishram.

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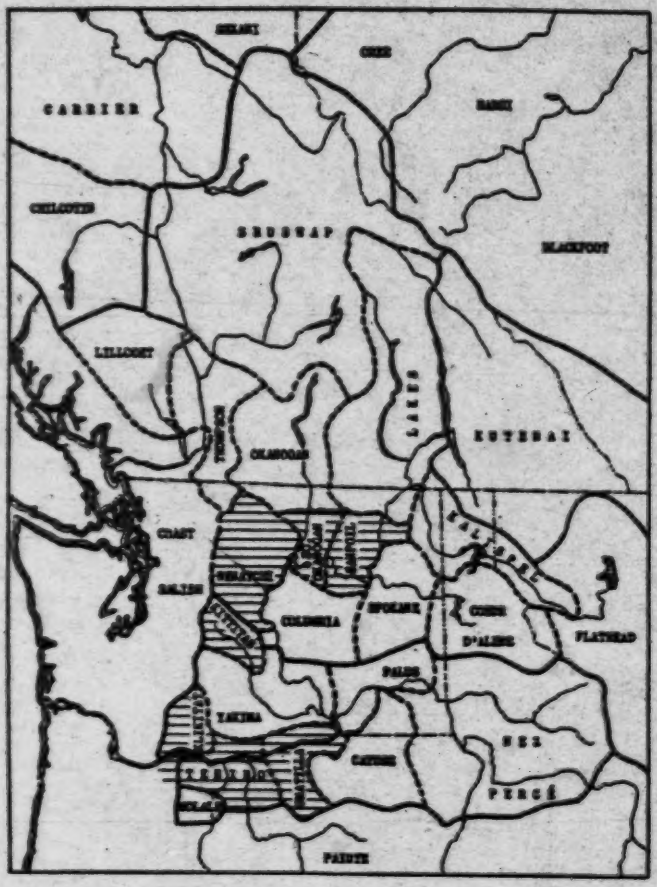

MAP 14. Illness due to spirit return.

753 There is no evidence of a similar diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

Soul loss is the remaining major disease concept of the Plateau. This is the belief that the animating human soul may become temporarily de-

[41] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 145.

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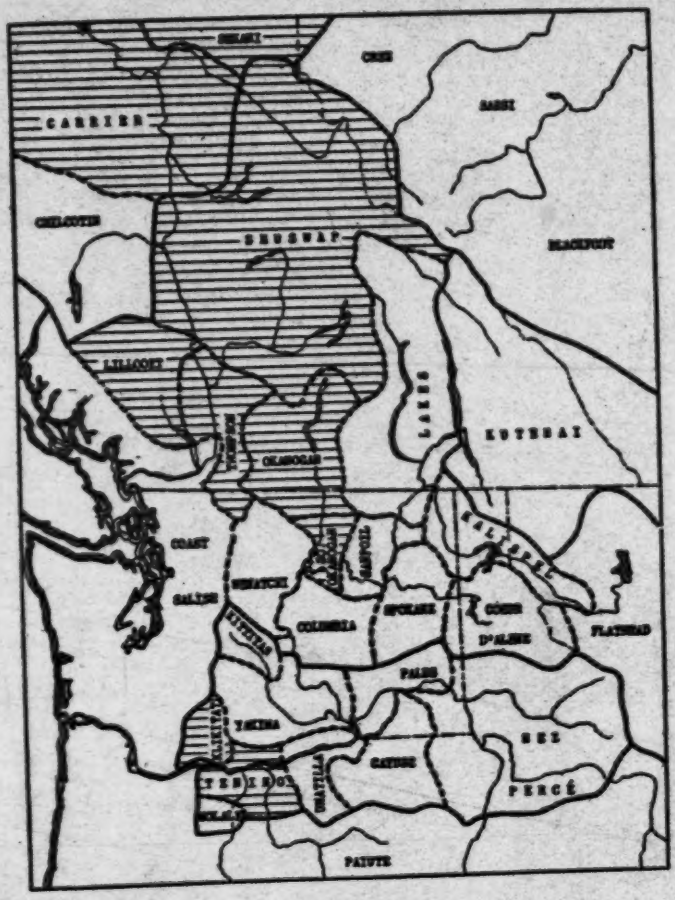
tached from the physical body without death occurring immediately. The accompanying illness is invariably serious—usually the most serious of any ailment—and death comes very soon if the soul is not recovered. Care should be taken not to confuse this concept with guardian



Map 15. Soul loss.

spirit loss, discussed above. The loose usage of the two terms, spirit and soul, often leads to such confusion, with serious theoretical consequences. Clements falls into this error in his paper on disease concepts.[22] He attributes soul loss to the entire Plateau, which is far from the truth.

[22] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, pp. 190–201, 225–40.

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is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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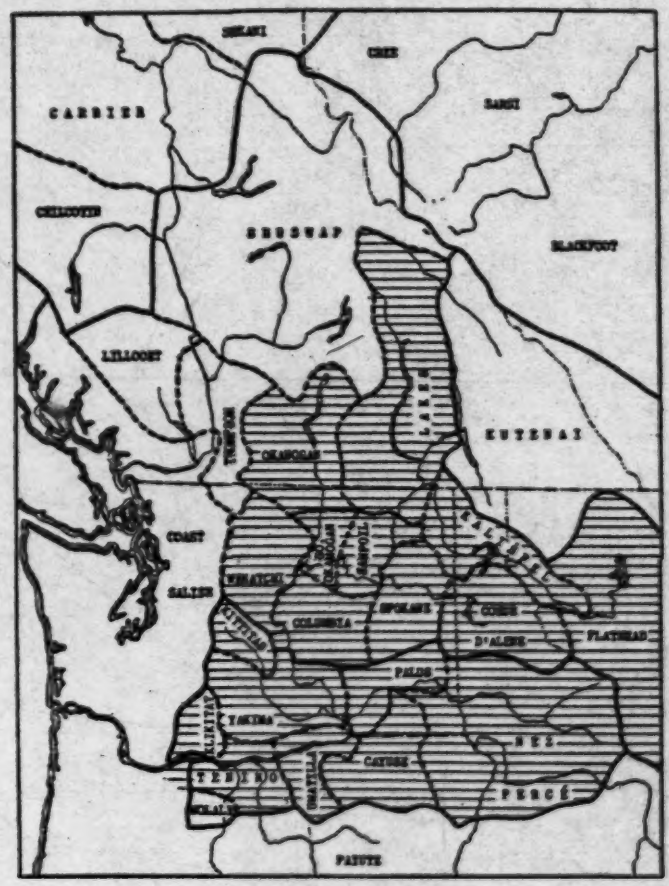

MAP 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

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tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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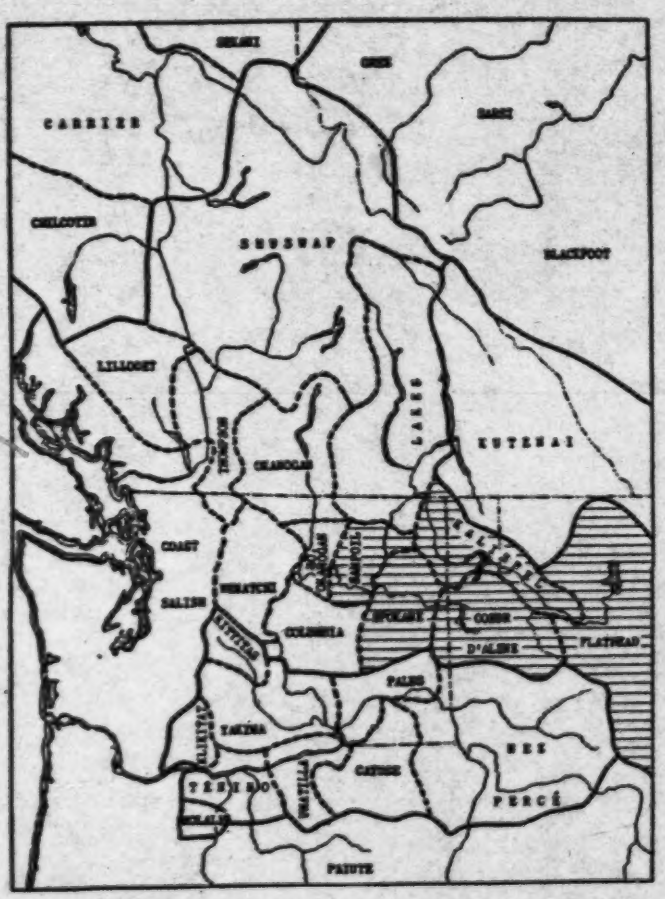
became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,



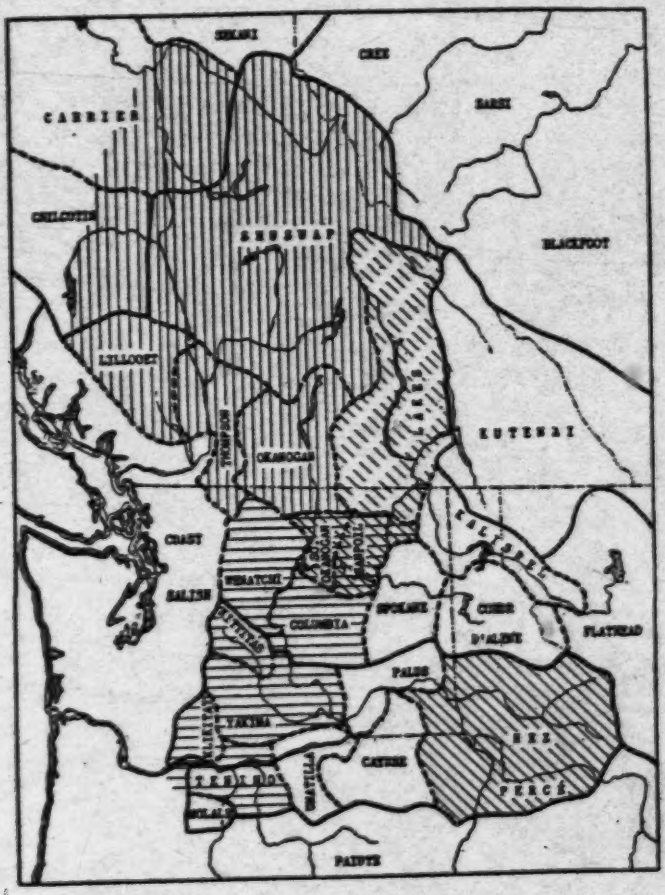
MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[86]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[86] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

are sometimes built over pits. Olson presents convincing arguments to the contrary in his study of the plank houses of the Northwest Coast.[4] Data from the Plateau, to the degree applicable, support Olson in his contention. (One exception is noted below.)



MAP 18. Earth lodges. *Vertical hatching:* circular, with rafters; *horizontal hatching:* circular, roof of radiating poles; *diagonal hatching:* circular, flat roof; *broken hatching:* circular, radiating poles with purlins.

But the present problem is that of a narrower area. The variations of the earth lodge within the Plateau are considerable. The pit may be either circular or square, the roof conical, pyramidal, or flat, and the

[4] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, pp. 26–30.

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A structure with plan and section identical to the last is found far north among the Carrier. This might be dismissed as an independent variation upon the rectangular plan, were it not for another feature which likewise duplicates southern practice. The rounded end is sepa-

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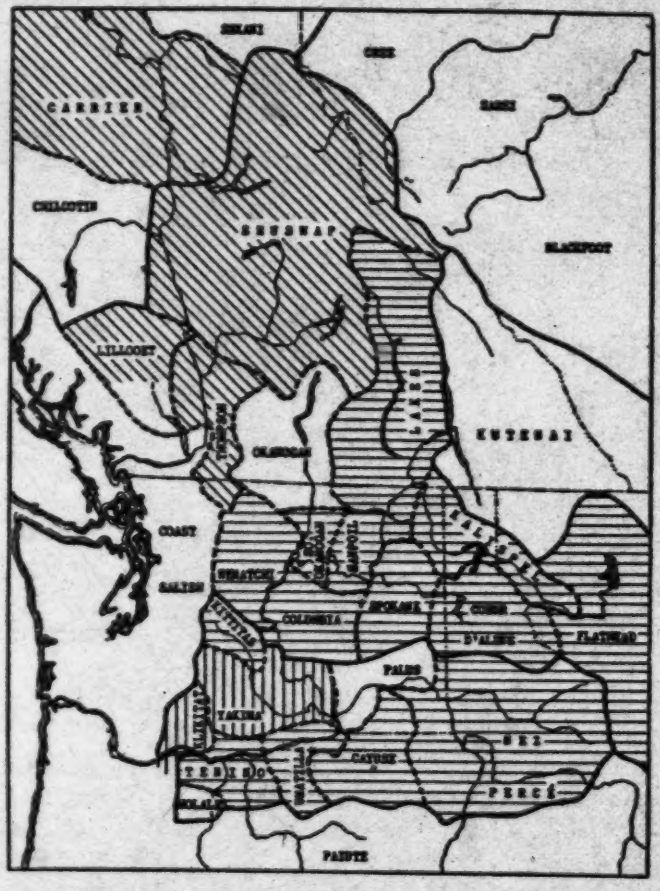

MAP. 19. Mat lodges. *Diagonal hatching:* inverted-V section, rectangular plan; *horizontal hatching:* inverted-V section, plan with parallel sides and rounded ends; *vertical hatching:* vertical walls, gable roof.

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rated from the main body of the house by a partition directly below the end of the ridge, making the room itself rectangular in plan. A door is provided in the middle of this wall and another in the rounded outside wall directly opposite. Two compartments are thus formed, one on

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

501 Bark canoes are utilized in all parts of the Canadian Plateau, and by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and western Flathead. Two highly distinctive types are found, with a third intermediate

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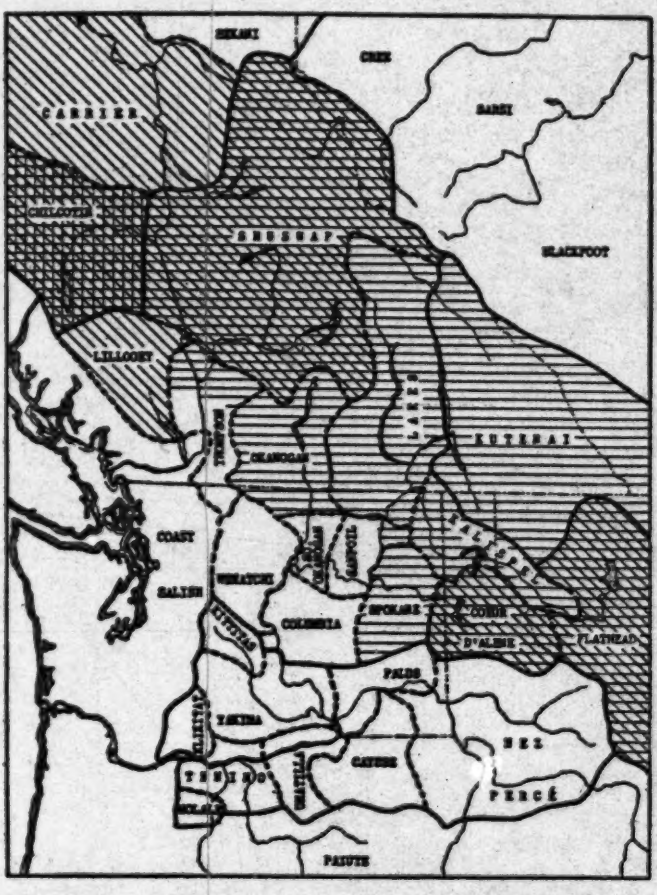

MAP 20. Bark canoes. *Diagonal hatching:* undercut bow and stern; *horizontal hatching:* sturgeon-nose type; *vertical hatching:* vertical bow and stern.

501 form. One is the sturgeon-nose type; another has undercut bow and stern; in the third form the bow and stern are vertical.

The sturgeon-nose canoe is pointed under the water line at both bow and stern. The existence of this type among the Kutenai was pointed out years ago by Mason, at which time he called attention to

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

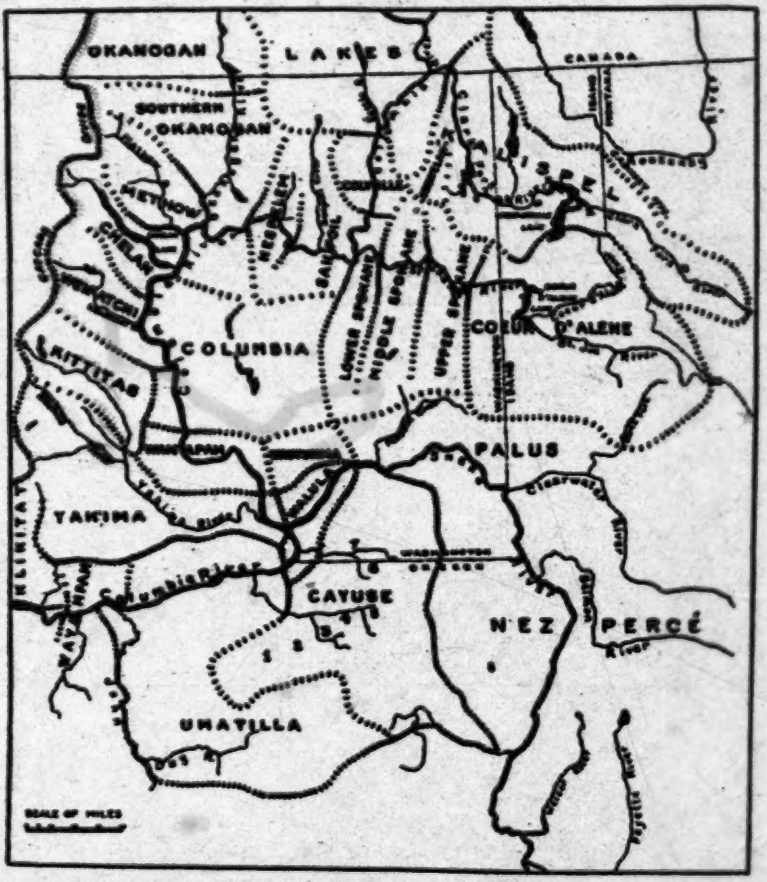

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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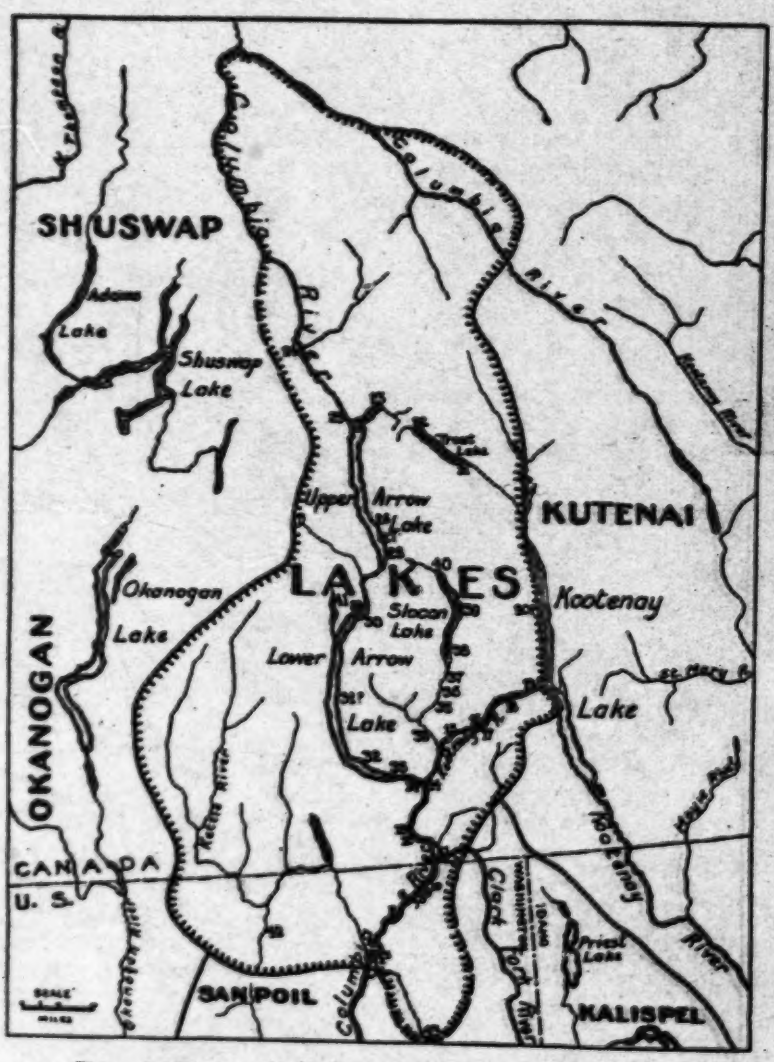

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

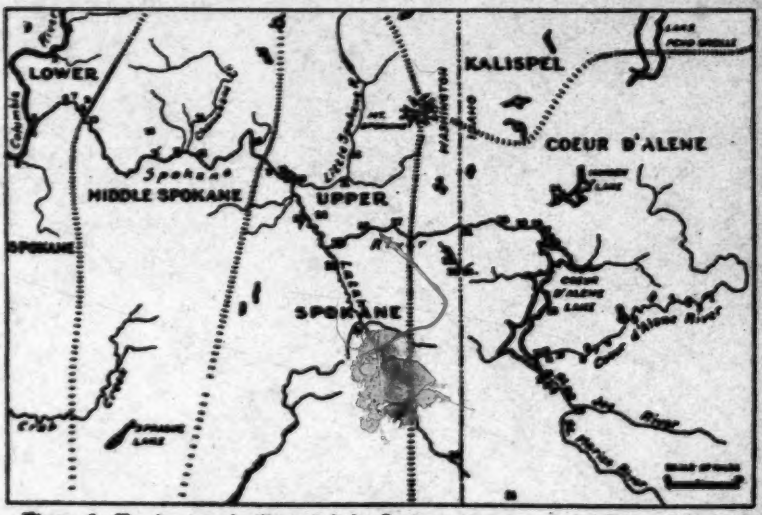

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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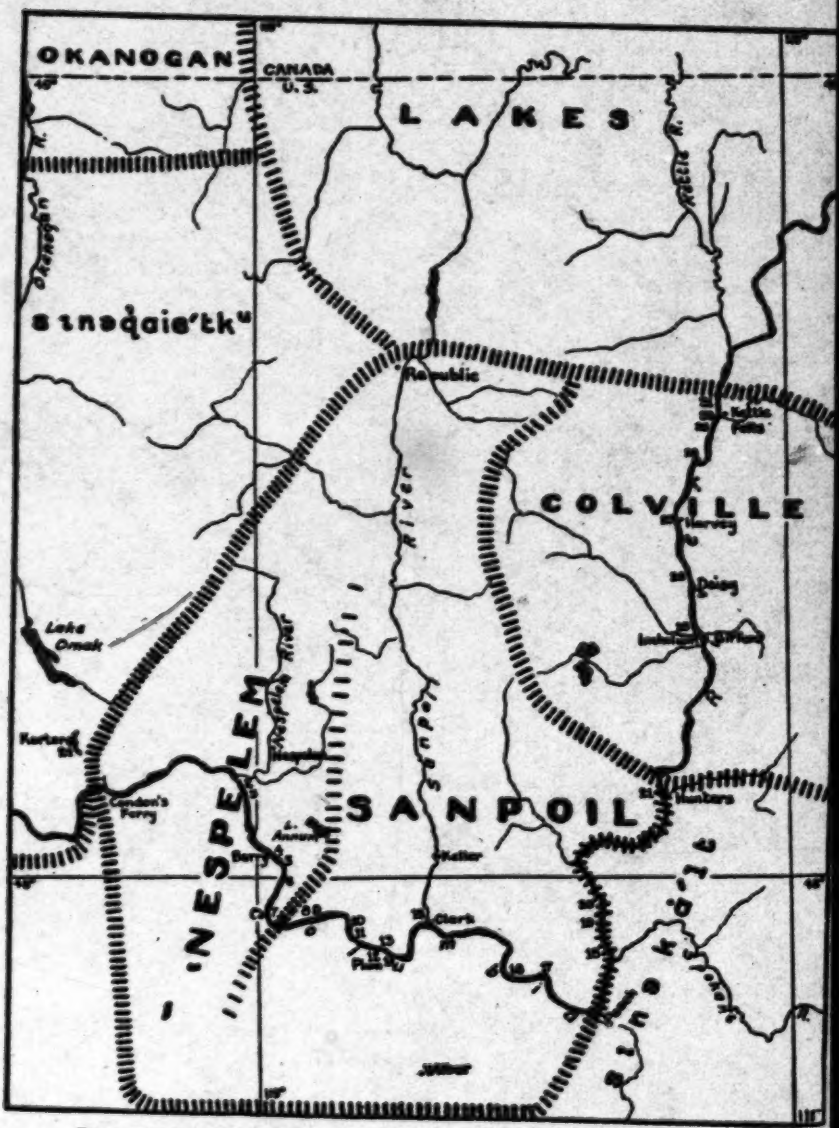

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several vil-
173 lages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.[3]

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

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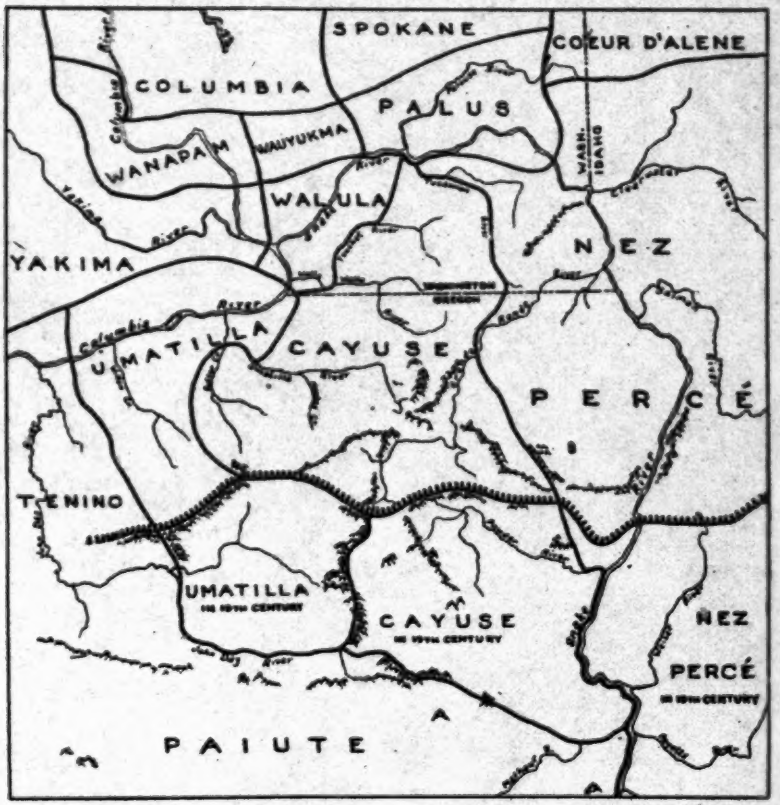

FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

131* below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles
173 above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

[3] In the present map this area is divided between the two.

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x 173 361 and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

131x 102 173

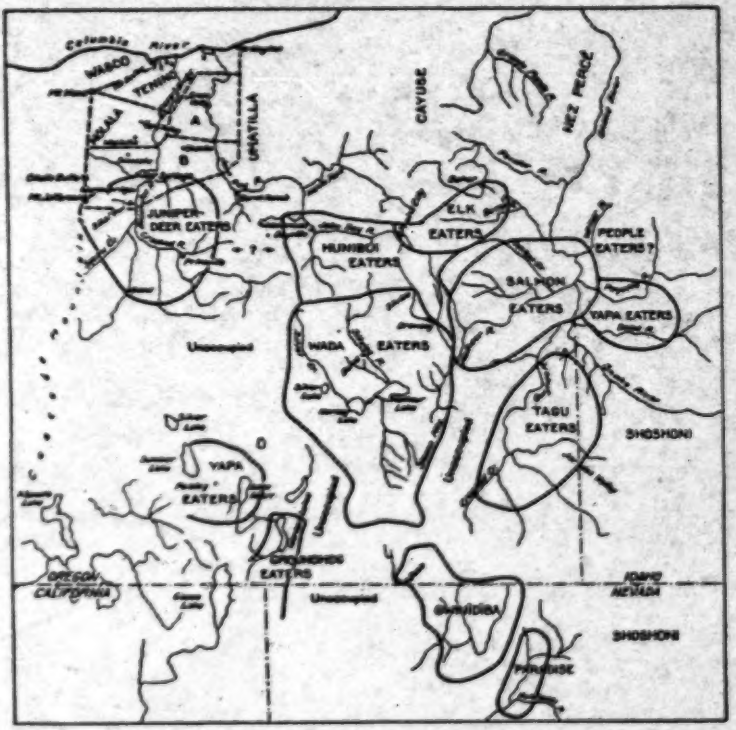

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

131x 173 361 shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

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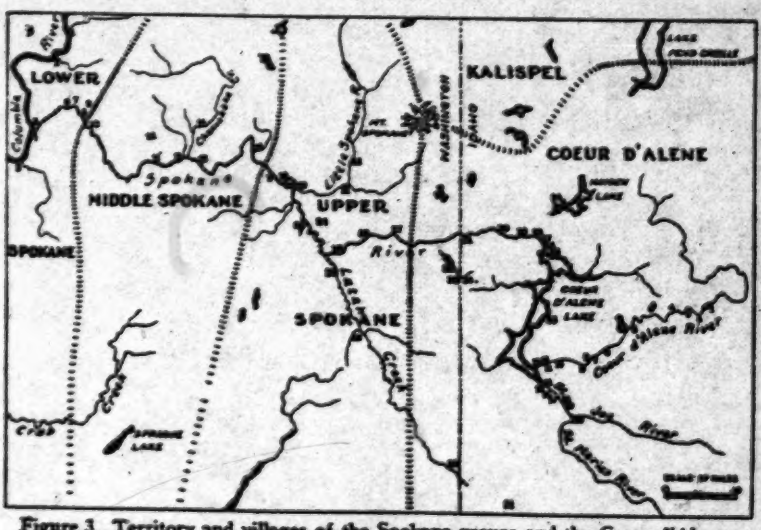

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

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Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

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[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask*; turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end*; Greek omega

LAKES VILLAGES

103 1. npəpkolá't'skin ("place where many pəpkolɪt's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

[524]

[438] After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kɪxkɪ'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolá't'skɪn (1).

3. nt'sɪlt'sɪli'tkᵃ ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[43]

4. átstləktst'cɪn ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sɪntkɪlxuwe'ltən ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tltitko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[43]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

7. stce'xələkᵊ.
On the Columbia below Northport. (T no. 22)[44] 103

8. ntsətsɛrri'sem.[45]
At or very near Northport. (T no. 21)

9. sɪnqi'lt ("above country," "on an elevation").
A settlement at the present site of Northport; formerly the home of the Lakes chief. (E)

10. sn'ȧkewi'lten ("portage").
An encampment at Northport. (E)

11. nquli'la'.
This village, located on the Columbia river about a mile above the present village of Waneta, numbered four or five families throughout the year. The berry fields and salmon grounds of Northport were conveniently near at hand.

12. tcəlxi·'t'sȧ.
This camp was located on the west side of the Columbia river at the site of the present town of Trail. Hunters used the site for a few days at a time as a base for deer hunting.

13. snəkəkəle'um.
At a creek on the west side of the Columbia river close to Trail. (T no. 10)

14. kupi'tlks ("rubbing the chest").
This was a settlement at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers, used as a temporary base for root digging. Travelers coming or going from the Kootenay or upper Columbia river valleys usually camped here for a week or two, visiting and gambling with friends and using the sweat houses. To a limited extent it also served as a hunting base. 103 524

15. ntɪkuli'tkᵊ ("much river food"). 103
This encampment was on the north side of the Kootenay river about a mile above the mouth of the Slocan (slo'kȧn) river. Trout pools were numerous in the river at this point making it a popular fishing center. Women used the site as a base for berry picking while men found it convenient for hunting bear. Parties usually stayed

[44] This, and following references in similar form, are to be read as Teit, "Salishan Tribes," village no. 22 of the group under consideration.

[45] Teit, Reichard and Elmendorf have all recorded the *r* sound in Interior Salish, yet it probably is not present. It much more likely is the voiced velar spirant represented in the transcription as Greek gamma with subscript period. The gamma is used here without the period because of printing limitations.

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here a week or two, most often during April just before the river began to rise. Later they moved to the north for caribou hunting, some travelling Slocan river route, some choosing the Kootenay river.

16. nxa·χa'tqan ("cave in the rocks").

This camp was the Kootenay river, opposite Nelson, at the edge of the caribou hunting area. Line fishing for trout was also profitable here.

17. k'iyá'mhup" (Kutenai word?).

A settlement at the site of the present town of Nelson.

18. yalsknkani" ("where many kukeni" [a small red fish] are found").

Located about six or seven miles above Nelson on the Kootenay river. Root gathering, bear and caribou hunting and trout fishing were all profitable.

19. ktca'ukul ("spliced trousers").

This encampment was near the present town of Balfour (?) on Kootenay lake. It was used as a temporary base during May and June.

20. na·χspoá'lk'en ("rocky bank made by spoá'lk'en [mythological character]").

On the west shore of upper Kootenay lake, exact location uncertain. Temporary camp.

21. sia'uks qa·l'su ("where the water flows outward" probably referring to the drainage of Trout lake into Kootenay lake).

This was a caribou hunting and fishing camp located at the lower end of Trout lake at the site of the present town of Gerrard. Drying racks for fish were erected here and travellers sometimes remained for several weeks.

22. snpotl'me·'p ("upper end of lake").

This encampment at the upper end of Trout lake was at the site of the present Trout Lake City. From here a portage usually was made to the end of Upper Arrow lake.

23. nk'umá'puluks ("end of the water").

This important camp was situated at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow lake near the site of the present town Compalix. It was a popular meeting place and a productive fishing, hunting, and berrying center. The camp was most populous in May and June.

24. skaxi'kantan.

A settlement opposite Revelstoke. (T no. 1)

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25. kospi'tsa ("buffalo robe").
At the site of the present town of Arrowhead. (T no. 3)

26. ku'sxana'ks.
On Upper Arrow lake, now called Kooskanax. (T no. 4)

27. neqo'sp ("having buffalo").
Now called Nakusp. (T no. 5)

28. tci'uken.
A little below Nakusp. (T no. 6)

29. sneχai'tsətsəm.
Near the upper end of Lower Arrow lake, opposite Burton City. (T no. 7)

30. χaie'kən.
At a creek below Burton City. (T no. 8)

31. mamatsi'ntən ("log leaning outside a cave").
A village on Lower Arrow lake, exact location uncertain. It was a center for hunting mountain goat in March and April.

32. plu'me'.
This was a temporary camp on the east side of Lower Arrow lake near the site of the present Deer Park. It marked the lower end of the hunting and fishing territory.

33. sm·a'ip' ("large log leaning against a tree").
A temporary camping place at the foot of Lower Arrow lake.

34. A settlement at the site of the present town of Castlegar, near the fork of the Kootenay river and Lower Arrow lake, was important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman.

35. sketu'kəlâx.
On lower Slocan river. (T no. 17)

36. nkweio'xtən.
On Slocan river above no. 35. (T no. 16)

37. ka·ntca·'k.
On Slocan river below the lake. (T no. 15)

38. sihwi·'ləχ.
On the lower part of Slocan lake. (T no. 14)

39. takələχaitcəkst ("trout ascend"?)
On Slocan lake, below no. 40. (T no. 13)

103

40. snkəmi'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'məltən.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtlu'stən ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwá'rəxən ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'tcu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

[622]

A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'x̣'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kan̓" ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

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6. nye·'yot.
A village at the place now called Indian creek on the Clark Fork river about nine miles below Newport. (T, p. 313)

7. st'sa·'xolᵉ ("gravelly place").
This was a permanent village located on the north side of Clark Fork river at the site of the present town of Furport. Population, fifty persons.

8. sxwe'uwi" ("portage around the falls").
This was a fall fishing grounds and a winter hunting base located where Albany Falls, Idaho, is now found. Population, approximately fifty.

9. tci'iu" (refers to face paint).
This winter village was located on Clark Fork river just above the mouth of Priest river. Excellent fishing and hunting was available nearby. From here a trail led to Priest lake where beaver and martin were plentiful. Winter population, 100 or more; summer, a few families.

10. sna'k'ulti·'n ("ford").
Both sides of Clark Fork river at the present site of Laclede was the location of this village. It was a fishing and trapping center occupied by about fifty persons throughout the year.

11. qapqape' ("sand").
A village near the present town of Sand Point. (T, p. 313)

12. n tcamutsi' ("mouth of many streams").
The mouth of Clark Fork river at Pend Oreille lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement noted for its fishing grounds. The islands nearby were used as burial grounds. Population, 300-400.

13. m·ce'dncem ("rocky stream").
This winter village was located on the Thompson river about three miles above the mouth. Summer residents of village no. 10 often wintered at this location. Population, 300-400.

14. tca·luqwe'ul ("meadow or small prairie").
This was the easternmost Kalispel village, located at the site of the present town of Paradise, Montana. It was popular as a winter residence on account of the very slight snowfall. Population, 100 or more.

COEUR D'ALENE VILLAGES

103

1. sqwatu·'tumc ("small sharp-peaked mountain").

This village, located at the site now called Cataldo, Idaho, was the uppermost Coeur d'Alene village on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was occupied throughout the year by 100 or more people, including the principal chief.

Cataldo, the present town, was named for Father Cataldo but the Cataldo mission, established in 1853, was about fourteen miles northwest of here.

2. nalstqā'lxwən.

Located a little below no. 1. (T no. 10, Coeur d'Alene river division, p. 39)

3. səncā'ləmānts.

A short distance below no. 2. (T no. 9, *idem*)

4. nsɑ·lut'.

This year round settlement of about 40 people was situated at Old Mission near Roselake.

5. A small camp of perhaps fifteen persons was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at the present site of Lane. The native name was not remembered by my informant.

6. sɑma'qwɑq'ɑn ("a small mountain on top of another").

This camp of about fifteen persons occupied a site on the Coeur d'Alene river now called Medimont.

7. qoqole'tēlps ("black pines").

A little above no. 8. (T no. 6, *idem*)

8. nɑst'ā·'kwɑ'st.

This camp was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at Blue Lake (about a mile and a half below Medimont). It was very small, numbering two or three families or perhaps fifteen individuals.

9. dɛ''ltɑlpᵃ ("a large clump of cottonwoods").

Midway between Medimont and Harrison, on the Coeur d'Alene river, was located this camp of about twenty-five people.

10. ne'atx̣a'x̣stəm.

A settlement a little above Harrison. (T no. 4, *idem*)

11. ālkwa''γɛ''ɪt.

This village occupied the site of the present town of Harrison on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was a center of considerable importance, occupied the year around by about sixty persons.

103

12. gwa'lit.
Near the lakes and close to Harrison. (T no. 2, *idem*)

13. tcla'tcalx^{w}.
On Coeur d'Alene lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alene river. (T no. 1, *idem*)

14. tcêti'ctacacaq.
A settlement near the mouth of the St. Joe river. (T no. 2, p. 38)

15. tcami'^{w}as ("narrow peninsula between lake and river").
This camp, on the St. Joe river near the present site of Chatcolet, was occupied all year by about thirty people.

16. stcica'tat ("creek enters river").
This was an all year settlement on the south side of the river about one mile above Chatcolet. The population ranged around forty persons.

17. stclaldcke·tan ("precipitous stream enters the river").
This was a one family camp on the St. Joe river near Benewah lake (about two miles above no. 16). It was occupied throughout the year.

18. st'u'tsta'wa's'.
This large village was situated about a mile upriver from no. 17. It had a permanent population of about 100 persons, including the principal chief of the St. Joe river villages.

19. tcat'owa'calqs (T no. 4, p. 38)
This village occupied a site on the St. Joe river about two and one-half miles above no. 18. About sixty persons made this their home.

20. ntcamtsan ("confluence").
At the site now occupied by the town of St. Maries (the confluence of the St. Maries and the St. Joe rivers) was located this village. It was the furthest upriver village and thus an important base for hunting parties. About eighty persons lived here.

21. ni'luxwa'l'q^{w} ("spring in the timber").
This was a summer settlement of great importance in the open wooded country about a mile south of Desmet, Idaho, near the St. Joe forest. It was most populous during June and July at which time most of the Coeur d'Alene peoples gathered here for digging roots, particularly camas. The "first roots" ceremony was held here. Visitors from Spokane, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Yakima were numerous. A few persons remained here all winter.

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22. nłpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcêlā'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xənt'a·"qən' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'əmki'nkwi' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

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26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənê'łpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rəpt.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·lm ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'łpənc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'lc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

33. tcana:'kwaqan ("two inlets at an angle")
A camp about two miles south of no. 32. Two or three families lived here. 103

34. A one family camp was situated just east of no. 33. My informant had forgotten its name.

LOWER SPOKANE VILLAGES

1. tcuwi'cast.
This was a small winter camp of three or four families located on the east side of the Columbia river just below the mouth of Hunters creek. This creek enters the Columbia at the present town of Hunters.

2. sw'edlə'kwetən ("where the trail meets the Columbia river").
This village of a few families was located on the east side of the Columbia river at the present village of Gerome.

3. snəkâ'lt ("rapids").
A site on the Columbia river just north of the mouth of the Spokane river (n·ka·'tkxʷ) was the location of this village. It gave its name to the Lower Spokane though it was not the principal village of the group, but a settlement of medium size consisting of three or four large houses and several smaller ones.

4. tc'ala"q'a.
This was a populous village situated directly across the Spokane river from no. 3, where the town of Miles is now found. (E)

5. npia'xam ("many hawks in the cliffs").
This camp was located at the confluence of the Columbia river and Hawk creek, the site now called Peach. It varied considerably in population from time to time, but never numbered more than a few lodges.

6. spw'xst ("river foam forming in eddies").
This settlement, on the north side of the Spokane river about a mile and a half below Detillion bridge (on state highway no. 22 across the Spokane river) was occupied in winter only.

7. di'a'lək'ən ("where a spring enters the river").
This was the largest camp of the Lower Spokane. It was admirably situated on the broad level bench above the north bank of the Spokane river about a mile below Detillion bridge. This site was near the river providing a readily accessible water supply and canoe landing, yet was high enough above the water level to be well drained

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and safe from flood waters. Immediately back of the village rose a range of hills which effectively protected the site from excessive winds. The river at this point was of such a character that a highly successful salmon weir-trap could be maintained throughout the salmon season, providing an abundant supply of salmon both for current consumption and drying for storage.

Visitors were numerous from all nearby points but also came in considerable numbers from such relatively distant points as the Nez Percé country. The village was most populous in summer but numbered many scores throughout the winter.

8. kɐɣ‹'mɛ'us.

This camp was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the present site of Detillion bridge.

9. ayasi'kɔn.

This was a small year round camp at a tiny lake near Detillion bridge.

MIDDLE SPOKANE VILLAGES

10. ɬaámɔ'kɔn‹'seɔn ("head of the rapids where the water flows over").

This was a large winter camp on the north side of the river at the rapids four miles above village no. 9.

11. tc‹lmɛdl'mɛ'dlmɔn (probably refers to the salmon trap at this point).

This settlement, noted particularly for its salmon trap, was on the north side of the Spokane river four miles below the present Little Falls. The salmon trap attracted many people in the summer but a smaller number stayed throughout the year.

12. stca'tsuw‹ca ("camping ground").

This summer camp was at the site of the present village of Wellpinit. (E) (The name Wellpinit is an adaptation of a Sahaptin word. A number of Sahaptin speaking peoples are now (1936) resident on Spokane Indian Reservation of which the headquarters are located at Wellpinit.)

13. sqàsi'ɬni ("fishers" from stqsqaistsɔɔn, "fishery," Little Falls [E]).

This village, which gave its name to the Middle Spokane, was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the falls now known as Little Falls. This was the principal village of the Middle Spokane and the most populous. The location was an excellent one, similar in physical characteristics to the main village of the Lower Spokane. In addition the falls provided excellent spear and trap fishing for salmon.

A glacial terminal moraine formed the soil on which this village

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was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'ɔmqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. ɑpłpu'pstɑn (''where pu'pstɑn [a grass] grows'').

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nsɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɑ·nu'yulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwɑmɑ'a'tcx^{a}, ''river where the steelhead trout run'').

20. nxwɑmɑ'ne (''steelhead trout place'')

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

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21. tcɩltcɩymu'làxᵘ ("where a creek skirts the foot of a cliff").

About eight miles up the Little Spokane river, near the mouth of Deadman creek, was located this camp, noted as a hunting and fishing grounds. The settlement was a permanent one but numbered only a few families.

22. ntcɩtcɩtɛ'nts'in ("where the creek enters the river").

This village, on the Little Spokane river near the present town of Buckeye, was a winter settlement of four or five dwellings.

23. sua'tsɩxᵘ (refers to a nest.)

This was a small autumn fishing camp and winter settlement between villages nos. 22 and 24, exact location uncertain.

24. stiuwa'tɩxᵘ ("where stiua'tɩ [a mythological bird] nested").

This was a permanent camp of medium size situated at a site about two miles north of the Spokane river where the outskirts of Spokane now lie. Little snow accumulated here, making it a popular wintering place. Recently it came to be valued as an excellent grazing place for horses.

25. sqlaxa'ɩkᵘ (refers to falls in the river).

This large permanent village was located on both sides of the Spokane river at the falls, now the center of the city of Spokane. The falls were excellent for spear and basket trap fishing, especially since they were too high for the salmon to ascend.

26. sɩmma'tculks ("place where many crows are found").

This was a site just south of what is now Hillyard, Washington, on the north side of the Spokane river. It was a village of medium size noted for fishing, hunting and grazing. Occupation was during fall and winter only.

27. sqɩmi'[illegible]

This was a small winter camp at the point where the railroad bridge now crosses the Spokane river north of Dishman. The camp occupied the north side of the river.

28. qu'yu ("place where Oregon grape [Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh.] grows").

This village was situated on Latah (Hangman) creek about a mile above the point where the highway bridge now crosses the creek. It was a populous permanent settlement valued as a salmon and trout fishing grounds and for the abundant game, including deer, antelope and beaver, which the surrounding territory provided.

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29. tcəlsi'yutsu·m ("place where many woodpeckers are found").
This camp, located on Latah creek near the mouth of Rock creek, about ten miles above village no. 28, was similar in size and utilities to the latter. In the winter it was used as a base for large deer drives.

NESPELEM VILLAGES[46]

1. nəkuktc'ī'ptɑn ("big basin"?) home of the snəkuktc'ī'ptɑnux^{w}.
This was a summer settlement located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was not an exclusively Nespelem village since much of its population was made up of Southern Okanogan whose winter residence was ka·γta·' (no. 24) or elsewhere. Population, 100-150.

2. nspi·'lɑm (Nespelem) ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^{w}.
This permanent settlement, the largest of the Nespelem, was situated on the lower Nespelem river from the mouth to the falls about three-quarters of a mile above. Population, 200.

3. xaimi 'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·lux^{w}.
Located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river. Population, 100.

4. salqua'xuwi'ł ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'łau.
This site was across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a semi-permanent settlement numbering perhaps 150 in winter.

5. ski'x^{w}, home of the ski'x^{w}.
This winter camp was about a mile above village no. 4. Population, 40-50.

6. masmasa'lɑmx^{w}, home of the smasmasa'lɑmxuwa'.
A winter camp approximately a mile and a half above village no. 5.

7. sk'lɑm'tcɑn ("passing the coulee"?), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'łau.
Opposite the mouth of Grand Coulee, at the site of the dam. Population, 40-50.

SANPOIL VILLAGES[46]

8. nkxo'ī'tq^{w} ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux^{w}.
Located about half way between villages nos. 7 and 11. Population, 20-30.

[46]Condensed from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," 15-21.

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9. wɑł'wałá'skɪn ("solid rocks"), home of the swɑł'wałá'skɪnxᵘ.

A winter camp situated a half mile upriver from village no. 8. Population, 20-30.

10. ts'ɑkts'i'kskɪn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'luxᵘ.

This camp of ten or fifteen persons was located about a half mile below village no. 11.

11. na'a'qᵘ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'aqau.

A permanent settlement located on the north side of the river about a mile below Plum. Population, 40-50.

12. x̣ɑx̣sula'uxᵘ ("level ground"), home of the sx̣ɑx̣sula'uxuwa.

A winter settlement located near Plum. Population, 20.

13. kɑłpusp'u'stən ("place where rye grass grows"), home of the kɑłpus p'u'stənaxᵘ.

This winter village occupied a site on the north bank of the river about a mile above Plum. Population 40-50.

14. sa'a·młkᵘ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'młkᵘ.

A permanent settlement opposite no. 13. Population, 100.

15. npui·'luxᵘ ("gray as far as one can see"), home of the snpui·'luxᵘ. The name Sanpoil is a corruption of the latter term.

This was the principal village of the Sanpoil, located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Actually this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up the river for a half mile or more. The names of these camps follow, beginning at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continuing upriver: (a) snkełkuqwɑli'sxɑnɑn ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"); (b) qɑłtsətci'n ("cliff propped up"); (c) qɑtɑpkunu'laxᵘ ("knoll"); (d) qɑqɑ·'mqam; (e) a branch of the snkełkuqwɑli'sxɑnɑn (a); (f) snpu·'tłəm ("emerging from the brush"); (g) sk'ɑxwi'lxu ("cave in the rocks"); and (h) ənłuq'ä' lukᵘ ("wide, bushy place").

Total population in summer, 400; winter, 75-100.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula' lstᵘ.

This, the largest winter village of the Sanpoil, was located on the Columbia river at Whitestone, about eight miles above the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Population, 300.

17. nx̣ɑx̣oγu's ("deep eyes"), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstᵘ.

Located about two miles above no. 16. Population, 50.

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18. snukɛ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɛ'iltkᵘ.
A permanent settlement on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. Population, 80.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones").
A winter camp about three miles above no. 18. Population, 25-30.

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass").
A winter camp about two miles above no. 20. Population, 25-30.

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxᵘ.
A winter village at Roger's Bar, opposite Hunters, Washington. Population, 150.

Following is a list of temporary camps along the Sanpoil river.[46] The list begins with the lowermost camp and proceeds upriver. These are not shown on the map.

A. ənluxu'la'xᵘ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.

B. ksi'k'əst ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.

C. àqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'k'əst (B).

D. snx̣loa'pətɛ·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

E. p'u·'pəstən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller.

F. nmxo·'yàm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.

G. nxwi'i'pam ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.

H. sə'à'à'tcast ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.

I. àtcxulki'pàstəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.

J. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cache creek. Hunting base.

K. nxat'ltcani'tkᵘ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cache creek. Hunting camp.

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L. sntxulu'stan ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cache creek. Served as a hunting base.

M. ·lu·'pisəm ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stan (L), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.

N. slâkumu'lamx" ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'pisəm (M). Hunting base and root gathering camp.

O. nxlakatc'i'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.

P. ma'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.

Q. luxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu'm (Q) may or may not have been used as camp sites.

R. aqlq·ouxwi'lp" ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.

S. tqwi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.

T. khi'i'pus ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

SOUTHERN OKANOGAN VILLAGES[46] [47]

22. t'kuya·'tum, home of the stkuya·'t.

Situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above Brewster. Population, 100.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən.

Located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Population 20-25 in the winter; many more in summer.

24. ka·yta·'.

A winter village situated near Goose lake at the site of the present Kartaro.

COLVILLE VILLAGES[48]

25. sntcali·"əm ("hits the river") home of the sntcali·"x".

A permanent village located about a mile above the present Inchelium. Population, 150.

26. nqua'si'əm ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'x".

Located slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Population, 50.

[46] Incomplete; see footnote 34.

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27. qaqala'pia ("water logged"), home of the sqaqala'piaxᵃ.
Opposite the present town of Harvey. Population, 25-30.

28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'naxᵃ.
Located about fifteen miles above no. 27. Population, 75.

29. ntcumu'tasṭum, home of the sntcumu'tastᵃ.
Near Kettle Falls, six miles above no. 28. Population, 25-30.

30. qɨluma''axᵃ ("level land"), home of the sqɨluma''axᵃ.
Opposite Kettle Falls. Population, 25-30.

31. smɨtcunu'lau, home of the smɨtcunu'lauxᵃ.
Situated at the site of the state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population in winter, 10; in summer, large numbers.

CHELAN VILLAGES

1. ntiâ'tkᵃ ("weedy river").
This was a winter village located at the mouth of the Entiat river where the town of the same name now stands. It was occupied jointly by Chelan and Wenatchi peoples (see Wenatchi village no. 5).
The Entiat river served as a fishing stream but was not of great importance because of its small size.
The last chief of this village was named təxas'q'e'n, "bald mountain."
Population, 100 or more.

2. ni'yà'lqən ("basin in which creek meanders").
This village of a few families was located at the mouth of Maple creek, just above the town called Winesap.

3. yenmusi'tsà ("rainbow robe").
This village was located at the lower end of Lake Chelan. It was the largest winter encampment of the Chelan with a population of about 100. This was an important goat hunting base but for salmon fishing the residents migrated to the Wenatchee river. The precipitous drop from the lake to the Columbia river prevented any salmon from ascending.

4. xantci·'n ("little rocky gate") in the spà'tlmulux ("bitter root grounds") valley.
This village was on the south side of the Methow river just south of the present town of Pateros. It was the home of a "renegade band" of Chelan numbering fifty or 100. Formerly this was

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doubtless the site of a Methow (mə'txo, "land of sunflower seeds") village, but was left unoccupied with the early rapid dwindling of that people.

WENATCHI VILLAGES

1. tapi'skn.

This was a permanent village numbering about fifty persons, located opposite the mouth of Moses Coulee near the mouth of Colocham creek.

2. skəlkəti'n.

This large permanent village was on the Columbia river about seven miles below the present town of Wenatchee, at Stemilt creek. The population was in excess of 300.[48]

3. skwətaktci'n.

The mouth of Squilchuck creek, a mile or two below Wenatchee on the west side of the Columbia river, was the site of this village. It was one of the largest permanent villages of the Wenatchi, numbering about 400 people.

4. pət'l'knu'lu.

This was a one family camp on the west side of the Columbia river at Zena, eight miles north of the mouth of the Wenatchee river.

5. ntiá'tk^{a} ("weedy river").

This village, at the present site of Entiat, was jointly occupied with the Chelan (see Chelan village no. 1). The Wenatchi population was perhaps forty.

6. alota's.

About one-half mile below Monitor, on the north side of the Wenatchee river, was located this village. The permanent population numbered about 200.

7. ntua'tckam.

The mouth of Mission creek, where Cashmere is now located, was the site of this village. The population was about 400 making it one of the largest of Wenatchi villages. It was a permanent village but most populous during the winter.

8. tcama·us ("narrow in the middle").

This village was situated at the mouth of Icicle creek about a mile south of the present town of Leavenworth. It was the princi-

[48]The population estimates here may be somewhat high but the ratios are probably reliable.

103 pal salmon fishing grounds of the Wenatchi. About 200 persons remained here throughout the summer but at the height of the salmon fishing season the population swelled to as much as 2,000 or 3,000 including visitors from both near and far. Large salmon drying racks were maintained here for the use of all.

9. tcwa'x.

The confluence of Chiwawa creek and the Wenatchee river was the site of this important fishing village. The salmon trap was located at skwatxwa'l, nearby.

COLUMBIA VILLAGES[47]

1. lxwa'xtcn ("living on the banks").

The mouth of Rock Island creek, at the Columbia river, was the site of this important village.

"Half Moon" was the last chief of this group.

2. nqwalqwalmi'n ("roasting place").

This village was located on the Columbia river where a small creek enters just north of Vantage. Though smaller than village no. 1, this was popular in winter because the site was unusually free of snow.

KITTITAS VILLAGES

1. à'tca ("coming out").

A village on the east side of the Yakima river just below Thrall, Washington.

2. k'a'tlx ("something hard").

This village was located about two miles below the present town of Ellensburg on the west side of the Yakima river. It was most populous in summer, numbering between 300 and 400 persons.[48]

3. yumi'c.

This winter village was situated about four miles below the present town of Thorp, on the east side of the Yakima river. It was a large village with a population of about 400.

4. kla'la.

About one mile above Thorp, opposite the mouth of Taneum creek, was located this village. It was a permanent settlement with a population of about 500, the largest of the Kittitas villages.

5. ti'plas.

The mouth of Swauk creek, near the present place called Dudley, was the site of this village. Its permanent population ranged around fifty.

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6. tiá'nawns.

This permanent village was located near the mouth of Teanaway creek. Its members used the Swauk creek and the Mountain Home hunting territories. The abundant game in the latter region attracted others during the fall. The permanent population was about fifty.

7. ta'txanuxca.

John Hill, on the south side of the Yakima river about four miles below Cle Elum, was the site of this village. Population, 50-60.

8. tlic'lam (Cle Elum).

This important summer camp occupied a site at the south end of Cle Elum lake where the river flows out. A huge salmon trap was maintained here, attracting as many as 1,000 persons during June and July. A smaller number remained throughout the summer.

9. ná'nam.

This large permanent village was situated on Naneum creek about seven miles northeast of Ellensburg, Washington. Population, about 400.

10. n'tsamtsa'mtcm (Salish word) ("grasshopper creek").

11. tc'da'xan (Salish word) ("standing at the side of your arm").

These two villages were located very near each other at the present site of Kittitas. They were important for the surrounding root digging grounds. They were well populated in May and June.

YAKIMA VILLAGES

1. k'u'ss ("two rivers meet" [Columbia and Snake]).

This large and important village was located where Pasco, Washington, now stands. Though claimed by the Yakima its population included many Walula and some Umatilla. Visitors were numerous since it was an important trading center. Also, it was a valuable site for fishing and taking eels. The settlement was occupied throughout the year.

2. tana'xalu ("throw rocks at fish").

This was a large permanent village on the Columbia river opposite the present town of Richland. It was noted especially as a fishing site.

3. A small village of twelve to sixteen lodges was located on both sides of the Yakima river where Kiona is now found.

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4. ta·'ḳaɛ (a style of hairdress, "long hair in front, short hair on the sides").

Both sides of the Yakima river, where Prosser is now located, was the site of this important village. Scouts were placed here.

5. tsi·wa·'la ("fresh water clams").

This was a large permanent settlement on the south side of the Yakima river just below Mabton. It was an important trading point, especially for dried fresh water clams.

6. ts'a'lat.

This was a small settlement on the south side of the Yakima river about two miles below the mouth of Satus creek.

7. ici·'te ("nest").

The mouth of Satus creek was the site of this large permanent settlement, second of all Yakima villages in size. It was a center for both summer and winter festivities, attracting large numbers of visitors. This village was of such a size that several chiefs were required.

8. pala·xi" ("hoofs").

This was a small camp located on the south side of the Yakima river just below the present village of Alfalfa.

9. pɛ'sko ("food that tastes queer").

This small village was situated just above Alfalfa.

10. wa'lah.

A small camp about one-half mile above no. 9.

11. wapa'i ("water grass").

This small settlement, located opposite the present town of Boone, was noted for the grass used in weaving which grew in the vicinity.

12. taluima·'s ("fishing point").

This was a small winter village located opposite the present town of Zillah and a short distance below. It was noted for winter fishing.

13. si".

This was a large village opposite Zillah.

14. lut'sàni" ("tree with white berries").

A large village located a short distance above no. 13.

15. x̣ɛctu" ("strong water").

Located opposite the present Buena.

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16. awa'tam ("salmon jump" referring to the rapids).
On the south side of the Yakima river where the Sunnyside irrigation dam is now located.

17. pa'xotakyut ("hills together," Union Gap).
This was a large village extending for a mile or two along the Yakima river where Union Gap is now located. There was but one chief at this village.

18. tsi'kik ("spring").
This was the largest village of the Yakima. It was located at a spring about one mile north of Union Gap and a half-mile west of the river. The population here was perhaps 2,000.

19. ti'mani ("pictographs made by small boy").
The mouth of Naches river was the site of this large village.

20. wa'patuxs ("capital").
This village, at the site of the present town of Cowiche, was noted as a place where chiefs met together in council.

21. ta·'itan ("torch fishing")
This village, noted for night fishing and hunting, was located on the south side of Cowiche creek just above the present town of the same name.

22. tautunu'k ("medicine").
This was a small permanent village on upper Cowiche creek. It was near important hunting territory.

23. miya'wax ("chief").
This was a permanent village located on the upper Tieton river at the place now called Rimrock (Tieton dam). It was an important center for hunting, fishing and berry gathering.

24. xa'tk'apca ("ground which is loose").
This settlement was on Atanum creek above the mouth a short distance.

25. a'tanam ("creek going down").
This village was on the north side of Atanum creek directly south of the present town of Wiley. It was a large, rich settlement occupied throughout the year. Many visitors from distant points were to be found here.

26. ta'mtiko ("let's go to village below").
Located on Atanum creek directly south of the present Tampico.

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27. ts'a'pas ("thin morning fog").
On the headwaters of the south fork of Atanum creek.

28. tsumkwi".
At the head of Simcoe creek near Saddleback ridge.

29. mu'houl ("water spurting out").
This village was located at what is now Fort Simcoe. A large spring here was of great value. The village was permanently occupied and quite populous.

30. nika's ("large meadow").
This camp, located a short distance east of the present White Swan, was particularly valued as a grazing grounds for horses, and a place of safekeeping out of the reach of raiding parties. Horses could be left here or taken away only by permission of the chief. Only the horse guards stayed here permanently.

31. cxuwi-'ac ("meadow where fawns appear" ?)
This camp was located on Toppenish creek about seven miles below no. 30.

32. cicu" ("bad smelling water").
On Toppenish creek about two miles below no. 31.

33. ca-'xu ("rock slide").
A camp on Toppenish creek about six miles above the mouth. From here a trail led over the Simcoe mountains.

34. txo'pamc ("rain pouring out" ?).
This camp was located about four miles west of Granger. There was a spring here and the site was used for wintering horses.

35. xo'kyunkt ("burial grounds").
This village and burial grounds was located on Satus creek about six miles above the mouth.

36. xi-'ta'i ("many sharp pointed rocks").
This small camp was situated at the confluence of North creek and Satus creek. It was used as a temporary camp by travellers.

37. tsala' ("forked tree").
A summer camp on the headwaters of North creek.

38. pa'wankwyud ("meeting place").
This was a large village with many chiefs, located on Satus creek near the mouth of Logy creek. Winter religious dances were held regularly here. Visitors from Wayampam were numerous.

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39. tamantcatani" ("basket trap").
This camp, located on Satus creek about two miles north of the summit of the mountains, was important as a root gathering base and for basket trap fishing.

40. txi·'una.
This was a scout camp at Satus pass.

41. wa·'xcam ("roots" used as food).
This root gathering camp was about five miles west of Satus pass.

42. lata'ma ("root roasting place").
This was a root gathering and hunting camp near the headwaters of Logy creek.

43. patkwa·'ip ("water coming down").
This was a permanent camp on the trail to the Wayampam and Umatilla territories, about half-way between Satus and Bickelton. One chief resided here.

44. ta'pacnakait ("end of the pine trees").
This was a permanent village and scout location where Bickleton is now situated. Many Wayampams and Umatillas were to be found here.

KLIKITAT VILLAGES

1. xla'tixat (Klikitat).
This was a permanent village located on the north side of the Columbia river at the rapids opposite the present town of Lyle. The population was perhaps 200. This was the only point where the Klikitat villages touched the Columbia.

2. la'uli pa·m" ("belonging to the la'uli people").
The confluence of White Salmon river and Jewett creek was the site of this village. It was the largest Klikitat settlement numbering about 500 persons throughout the year. It was also the home of the Klikitat chief, the last of whom was ta'uwita·kc.

3. nakipanık.
A site adjacent to the falls in the White Salmon river, where the present town of Husum is found, was the location of this village. About 150 people lived here throughout the year.

4. xatxa'iwaca.
This was a winter village of about 200 persons located on the White Salmon river four miles above Husum.

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5. kawa'ukai.
This was a summer camp situated where Snowden is now found. It was noted for the surrounding camas meadows. Population, about 100.

6. pa'lx.
This was another summer camas grounds, located between the present towns of Laurel and Glenwood. Many people camped here each summer including visitors from Yakima. The number ranged around 500.

7. ntsila'x.
This summer camp was at Glenwood meadows. Population, 300-400.

8. ca'acaxumni' ("crane").
This summer village, the largest of the Klikitat, was located at Trout lake. It was popular for trout fishing and berry picking.

9. lu'axam ("small burnt place").
A summer camp at Dead Horse meadow, northwest of Guler.

10. tak"ta'k" ("little meadow").
This was an important temporary camp at Peterson Prairie near the head of Lava creek. The summer population varied from perhaps 100 to 150.

11. tc'ikwa'c ("roughly rocky place").
This was an important summer camp about six miles west of no. 10. A horse race track was located here.

12. kalama't ("race track").
This camp and race track was located about two miles west of no. 11.

13. xalk'a ("where wild sunflowers grow").
A summer camp at Huckleberry mountain.

14. panawaswa'kul ("rough, rugged" ?).
A summer camp at Sawtooth mountain.

15. lma'ma ("old woman," mythological reference).
A summer camp at Lemei mountain.

16. wawaya'c ("mosquito site").
A summer camp at Twin Buttes.

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17. kakyâlmi' ("pertaining to the little bird").
A summer camp at Bird mountain.

WAYAMPAM VILLAGES

1. ti'naino
A village on the south side of the Columbia river nearly five miles above The Dalles, Oregon.[49]

2. si'lailo·.
At the present Celilo.[49]
This site is still well occupied but with a very much mixed population.

3. sk'i'n ("cradle").
This was an important Wayampam village located about one-half mile west of the present station called Wishram, on the north side of the Columbia a little above Celilo but on the opposite side.

4. wa'paixt ("where the water runs down").
At the present Wishram station on the north side of the Columbia.

UMATILLA VILLAGES[50]

1. i'matûam ("lots of rocks").
Both sides of the mouth of the Umatilla river were occupied by this important winter village. It was the center of an important berrying and root gathering territory as well as the site of salmon fishing operations. Trails led from here to the mountains where elk, antelope and deer were hunted. Also, grazing lands for horses were available and much horse breeding was done. In native words, "This was a good place to live."
Population, 500-600.

2. tuq'woye'pa ("tule place").
This was a spring and summer camp on the south side of the Columbia river between Umatilla and Cold Springs. Chokecherries, berries, kause and other roots were gathered nearby.

3. xu'lulupa ("rapids in the river").
This was a summer fishing camp on the north side of the Columbia river about three miles above the present Mottinger. Salmon were taken in nets and dried for winter use. Population, 20-30.

[49] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 169.
[50] Incomplete, see section VI.

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4. ama'ama'pa ("island").
This was a stronghold on Blalock island (or those opposite Mottinger?) used as a place of security against raids by the Snake Indians who often attacked the Umatilla and carried off their horses. 103

5. tă·'ksaSam ("elbow in the river").
A temporary camp on the north side of the Columbia river near the present site of the village Roosevelt.

6. k'ami'łp" ("opening through the canyon where light penetrates").
This was a permanent village on the north side of the Columbia at the mouth of Rock creek. It was popular because wood was plentiful. The population was a hundred persons or more.
This village marked the downriver boundary of the Umatilla.

WANAPAM VILLAGES[30]

1. p'nna".
Located on the west side of the Columbia river at Priest Rapids.

2. ca'p'tłłk.
About two miles upriver from no. 1, on the same side. This camp is still occupied today. It now consists of two "long houses" of mats and one tipi type mat lodge. The population is perhaps forty.

3. waya·'nwe.
About one mile north of no. 2, on the west side.

4. tamacsk'uni'skuni.
One mile north of no. 3, same side.

5. xa'txamtcanuwi'tac.
One mile above no. 4, same side.

CAYUSE BANDS

1. kimi'lhicpu.
The Butter creek band.

2. walu·'npu.
The Pilot Rock (Oregon) band.

3. ha'utmipu.
The McKay creek band.

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4. nixya·'wipu.
   The band resident near nixya·'wi spring, near the present Cayuse, Oregon.
5. meqicnim‹'pu.
   The Gibbon-Umatilla river band.
6. qapqapi'tspu.
   This was the Cottonwood creek band of Cayuse.
7. pa'cxapu.
   This was the name given to the Cayuse people in the region of the Walla Walla river.

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131x River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax,
173 the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

131x The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determin-
175 ing tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded
103 native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

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Lewis and Clark name	*Phonetic transcription*	*English equivalent*	*Location in 1805–1806*
Wah-how-pum[13]	ɤwa'ɬɤwaipam[14]	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am[15]	i'matɬam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low[16]	wɬla'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po[17]	wayi·'letpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum[17]] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah[18]	pɪc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse[19]	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace[20]	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po[21]	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel[22]	ta·'ptat[23]	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom[24]	pcwa'nwapam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee[25]	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low[26]	pa·'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan[27]	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo[28]	xaye·'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po[28]	sxoie'lp[29]	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar[30]	ku·'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish[31]	tski·'sumɪx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

[13] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

[14] Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenmo) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151–300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

[15] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[16] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

[17] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

[18] *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

[19] The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɪc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

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The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earlier distribution noted above.[31]

Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecomskink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.[32] [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.[33]

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pishquow (npskwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name ps'ako (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

[30] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[31] *Idem*, map 40.

[32] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

[33] Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

[34] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

[35] *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6. p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-ah-nim (probably Salishan).

[36] *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

[37] The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

[38] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

[39] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[40] The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

[41] *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114–19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

[42] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

[43] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

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river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[84]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[85] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[86] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[84] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [85] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [86] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

TABLE 1. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU SOCIAL CULTURE*

Aspects		Klamath	Nez Percé	Umatilla	Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat	Kittitas	Wenatchi	S. Okanogan	Sanpoil	Coeur d'Alène	Kalispel	Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson	Shuswap	Lillooet	Chilcotin	Carrier
Political	Strict local autonomy																			
	Small bands of villages																			
	Chieftainship loosely hereditary																			
	Female chiefs (other than substitutes)																			
	Chief's spokesman																			
Fishing rights local; hunting land unrestricted																				
Communal fishing weirs																				
Social equality for freemen																				
All men free (no slavery)																				
Slaves rare																				
Warfare	Strict pacifism																			
	Warfare rare																			
	Warfare raid-like																			
	Dance for supernatural aid precedes																			
	Plateau type victory dance																			
Puberty	Ceremony for boys																			
	Isolation, intensive training for girls																			
	Elaborated menstrual tabus																			
	Isolation at subsequent menstrual periods																			
Burial	Inhumation in soil																			
	Inhumation in talus, gravel																			
	Body flexed																			
	Body extended																			
	Grave exorcised																			

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painted and carved. Each box belonged to a family or group of families, and many bodies were placed in the same box. When the boxes were full, a new one was made and placed near by. Some of these boxes had pitched roofs. Poles and grave figures were put up around the boxes. Articles of clothing and other offerings were often attached to these. . . . A few old burial places consisted of a staging erected on poles or posts. The bodies were wrapped in mats of cedar-bark in a sitting position, and deposited in boxes or on the stagings.[129]

There can be no question as to the origin of the disposal practices of the Wishram and Lower Thompson. Both were received from the Coast, one via the Columbia River, the other via the Fraser River. Likewise, the basket burial of the Lillooet is clearly coastal in origin. The large coiled basket merely has been substituted for the box.

[129] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 335.

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• The table presents traits of social culture typical to the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it.

The tribes are listed in approximate geographical order from south to north. The vertical lines mark transitions from one linguistic stock to another. The double lines separate tribes of the Canadian or northern Plateau from those of the American or southern Plateau. The geographical area of the northern part is about equal to that of the southern portion; the latter occupies more space on the chart merely because a larger number of groups is represented.

Breaks in the lines on the chart represent ascertained distributional absence, not merely lack of knowledge, except occasionally for the Wishram and Nez Percé.

Certain traits shown on the maps are utilized here also in order that they may be brought into visual relationship. Also, the table supplements the maps, adding the Klamath, whose extreme southerly habitat is beyond the border of the maps.

The charts are intended primarily as visual aids. Most of the items included are discussed in the text.

CONCLUSION

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Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial.

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

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The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

[1] Jennesss, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

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in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsman around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[2]

[2] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted.

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.

111 NR4 Plateau

1: Ray, Verne F. Cultural Relations in the Plateau of North America. Publications of the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund, Vol. 3. Los Angeles: The Southwest Museum, 1939.

Pp. xii, 154; 20 maps, 2 tables.

Yale: C63.70j

[This work discusses the distribution and history of social, religious and material aspects of culture in the Plateau area. The book demonstrates the unique character of many phases of Plateau life, especially in such matters as the typical attitude toward war, and toward social privilege and rank. Twenty maps show the distribution of the various Plateau traits throughout the area; these will be found filed under category 102, Maps, as well as under the specific category numbers to which they are relevant. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-38
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1954

111 NR 4 Plateau

3: Ray, Verne F. Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin. Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99-152. Seattle, 1936.

Yale: Crll 15 27

[A detailed work on the location of villages and the territorial distribution of Salish and Sahaptin speaking groups in the Columbia River Basin, around the year 1850. The nature of the political organization prevalent in the area is also discussed, and other information concerning these people, for example, on the annual hunting and gathering cycle of migrations, is given. --Analyst]

Field date: 1928-35
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1954

4: Ray, Verne F. et al. Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions. American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 384-415. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1938.

Yale: Nk10. Am37. N. 40.

Omitted from Files: Pp. 406-415; material concerning groups belonging to the Great Basin.

[This work, comprising contributions by several ethnographers, summarizes information concerning the locations and migrations of certain Plateau Indian groups before and since white contact. The information presented here was designed to correct previous less accurate accounts. Both written records and field work with informants are drawn upon to define the areas occupied by the various groups.--Analyst]

Field Date: 1934-37
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1953

5: Bancroft, Hubert Howe. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft. Volume I. The Native Races. Vol. I. Wild Tribes. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1883.

Pp. xlix, 797; 6 maps

Yale: Cr*40.1

Omitted from the Files: Pp. 1-231, 234-249, 292-309, 322-797.

[In Bancroft's monumental work on the native races of the American continent, he attempted, with the help of "a large corps of assistants," to bring together all the knowledge extant in his time concerning these peoples. Copiously footnoted, the work contains invaluable specific references to earlier works which give first-hand information about the Indians at the time of first contact with whites. Only material relevant to the Salish and Sahaptin speaking peoples has been reproduced for the present file. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Genevieve A. Highland

Evaluation: Historian-4
Processed in 1954

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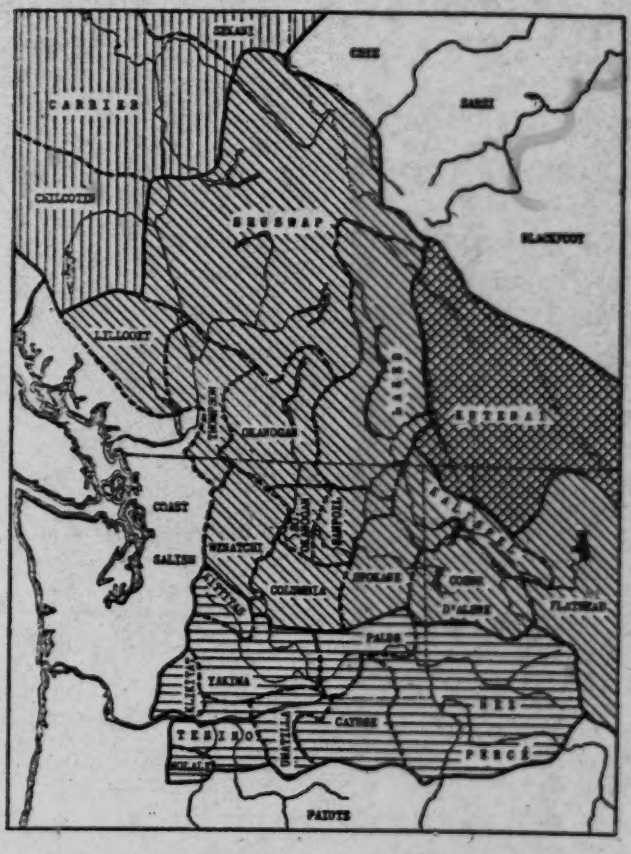

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[2] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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5: Bancroft Plateau

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For additional references to early material on the Plateau peoples, see entire source.

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PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

VERNE F. RAY

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

131 THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

101 131 On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

114 131 For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

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An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientation

101 174 174 621 A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

114 174 621 From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the existence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida chiefs are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.
[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.
[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

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> The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{u}", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta'x^{u}]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

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Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Déné Race*, pp. 138 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

131x 114 SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward[1] and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.[2] In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.[3]

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

131x 173 In a previous paper[4] I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625–34, 1937.

[2] Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

[3] James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

[4] Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99–152, 1936).

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[43]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[44]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[45] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[43] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[44] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[45] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."	4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political units, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.
5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.	5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.
6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.	6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.
7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.	7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.
8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.	8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

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The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika's, eaters).[58] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[58] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[1]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[2]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English; her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[2] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.[5]

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DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matılam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;[6] reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino[7] enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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[5] This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

122

The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

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Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse–half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla–Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

[6] This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

[7] The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

BY
VERNE F. RAY

LOS ANGELES
1939

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

VERNE F. RAY

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

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CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

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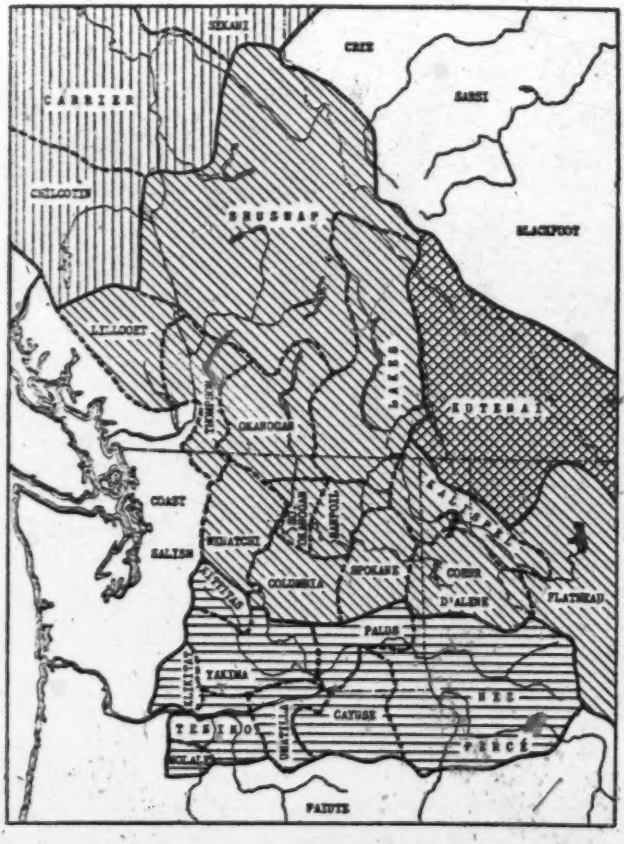

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

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Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

---

used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientation

101 114 174 621 A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

114 174 621 From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

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"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the existence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida chiefs are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.
[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.
[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

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114 affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western
174 America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]
621 The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

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619 The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{u}", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

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even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence. 101 114 619

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

101 ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal
114 numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If
619 specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta′x^{u}]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

101 Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-
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[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Dené Race*, pp. 138 f.

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omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ʼlux^{w}) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·ʼlux^{w}) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (kʼtɩʼtâs). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

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101 571 619 names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

Tribal Organization

177 619 As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

[12] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 84.

[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13–19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

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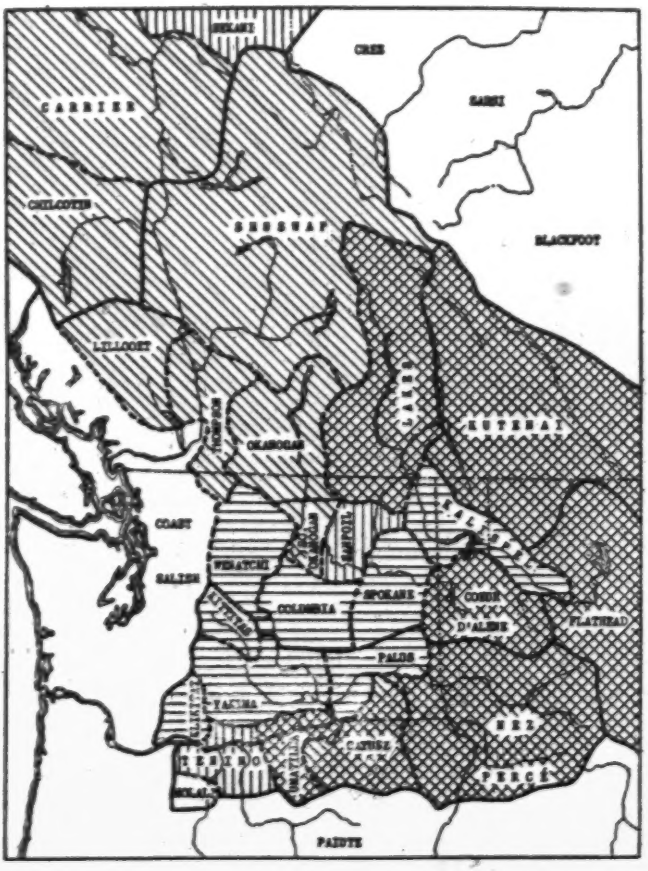
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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619 623 council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

101 619 Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more im- [177] portant with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

[14] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 242 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

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Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

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> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

177 231 487 This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

101 177 619 All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

166 621 It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

177 621 The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The second sub-type is characteristic of the western Plateau of Canada (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanogan, Southern Okanogan). Here the band is merely one unit of an expanded autonomous local group. Instead of the tiniest settlements maintaining strict independence, as among the Sanpoil, a small number within a relatively small range join together in a mutually advantageous union. In this case the group is looked upon in the same light as a large village. It is essentially a union of domestic and peacetime order. Chieftanship is central; if a member village needs a measure of strictly local control, the officer is a head-man, not a chief. The group is not looked upon as a union, but as a unit. Even among the Sanpoil the germs of this organization can be seen. Although a village of but two or three houses is theoretically strictly independent, with its own chief and group name, there is some modification of this in practice. Such a settlement sometimes sends representatives to the assembly of the nearest large town and solicits advice from the chief of that town. In such a case the small group does not recognize a chief, but names a head-man. Under this arrangement, however, the actions of the large village are never binding upon the other. Decisions which are thought wise are respected, others ignored.

The Southern Okanogan illustrates well the expanded autonomous local group. Four independent bands are recognized, each with its chief and small local territory. A man moves freely from one village to another within the band. Sharp distinctions are made between one band and another, especially where dialectical differences exist. This is true even within limited areas along the Okanogan River. These distinctions are purely political, however, not social or ethnic.[16] This type of band organization is surely a local development upon an earlier pattern now retained only by the peripheral Tenino, Sekani, and the internally peripheral Sanpoil.

Lines of Demarcation and Territorial Rights

The exactitude with which boundaries are drawn varies greatly, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Where the village is the political unit boundaries are automatically exact so far as the settlements themselves are concerned, but intervening and tributary territory must be divided arbitrarily, or be used in common. In the typical organization of the Plateau, territorial segmentation is highly

[16] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 73 ff.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

131 specific along river courses, but hunting territory is invariably used in
621 common by a number of villages or small bands. An area may be frequented more or less exclusively by a larger band but this is a matter of convenience rather than principle and does not particularly affect the specificity of boundaries.

The trans-river boundaries are quite precise in all cases. This is more or less inevitable since villages are small and situated close together. The actual line of division is seldom geographically intermediate, but is determined with regard to fishing grounds. Each village is associated with one or more of these grounds, depending upon the size of the village and the productivity of available fishing sites. Permanent villages are located with regard to topography, fuel supply, and winter warmth; therefore fishing sites may or may not be near by. Hunting and gathering grounds, on the other hand, cannot be so neatly parcelled out. It would be naturally impossible for each of many small villages to have a specific hunting territory and yet, whether partially cause or only effect, the political attitudes toward fishing territorial rights and hunting territorial rights differ essentially one from the other, as shown by actual organization.

It must be emphasized at this point that these distinctions and differences are largely formal and structural, not economically functional. A boundary is a conceptual thing, not a physical barrier. Although a particular fishing station "belongs" to a particular village, any friendly person, either acquaintance or stranger, is welcome to use it. But the village with territorial rights over the station is quite definitely the visitor's host. In the use of hunting territory no such host is recognized if the man is a member of the ethnic group; he is simply exercising his right.

These remarks apply to all of the Plateau groups recognizing local autonomy except the Athabascans on the north, particularly the Chilcotin and Sekani. Among these peoples mobile bands replace fixed villages and a considerable territory is required by each. In consequence hunting territory comes to be of primary importance and it is not surprising that each band recognizes specific territorial rights in this respect. Jenness states unequivocally that each of the Sekani bands possesses its own hunting territory.[17] Among the Carrier, large villages often hold specific territory. The mere recognition of such territorial rights is

[17] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

622 The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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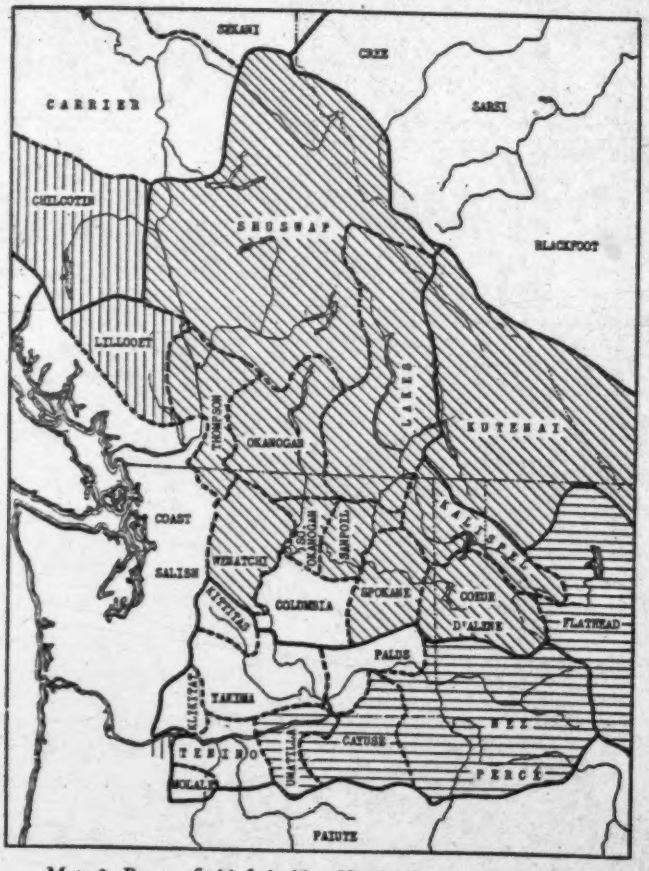

MAP 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

622 be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. 622
The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on [556]
the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains:

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[20]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[21]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

[20] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.
[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

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example, the normal order of hereditary succession is son, brother, brother's son, but no priority is held by one son over another, by one brother over another, etc. Thus the office cannot be filled automatically. In case of vacancy the assembly selects one of those eligible by standards of honesty, sound judgement, even temperament, and, most important of all, skill in arbitration. If no one of the candidates satisfies these requirements, the assembly may choose any man it wishes; often the sub-chief is given the office.[22]

Among the Southern Okanogan the principle is identical, but actual history indicates

> discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual might be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office.[23]

(The Sanpoil office is held throughout life both nominally and actually, except in the event of abdication.)

Teit states that the Thompson lack hereditary chiefs, but explains that

> the fact that a man was the son of a chief gained him a certain amount of popularity. If, however, he failed to possess or attain the necessary qualifications [wealth, wisdom, oratorical powers, prowess in war], he was not called "chief," nor would he be considered in any way different from the mass of the people. Nevertheless chieftaincy has descended in some instances, particularly among the Lower Thompsons, from father to son for several generations.[24]

In other words, the Thompson phrasing differs somewhat from that of their southern neighbors, but the pattern remains essentially the same.

In the southern Plateau a partial parallel is seen among the Nez Percé. Spinden categorically asserts that

> the position of chief was obtained by election. Although fathers were often succeeded by their sons, this was only because the latter had a strong following and not because the chieftainship was regarded as hereditary.[25]

Spinden does not emphasize the formal standards which play so great a role among the Nez Percé and other southeastern tribes. These distinctly set off the southeastern Plateau.

[22] Cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 110. [23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 97.
[24] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 242. [25] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 242.

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But the parallels with the [illegible]nust not be under-emphasized. 177
An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the im- 622
pressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[28]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very 554
slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except 622
among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[28] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

554 622 Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

622 692 The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39. [30] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 94.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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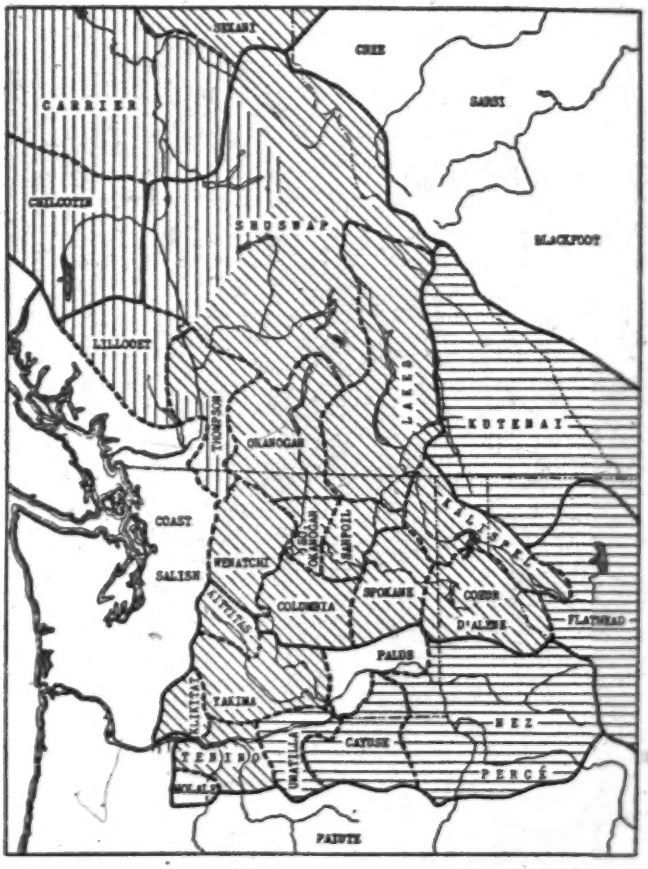
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 87, 98.

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influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[41]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[42]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[41] *Idem*, p. 254.
[42] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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565 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified
554 by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was
829 not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

567 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed
829 above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

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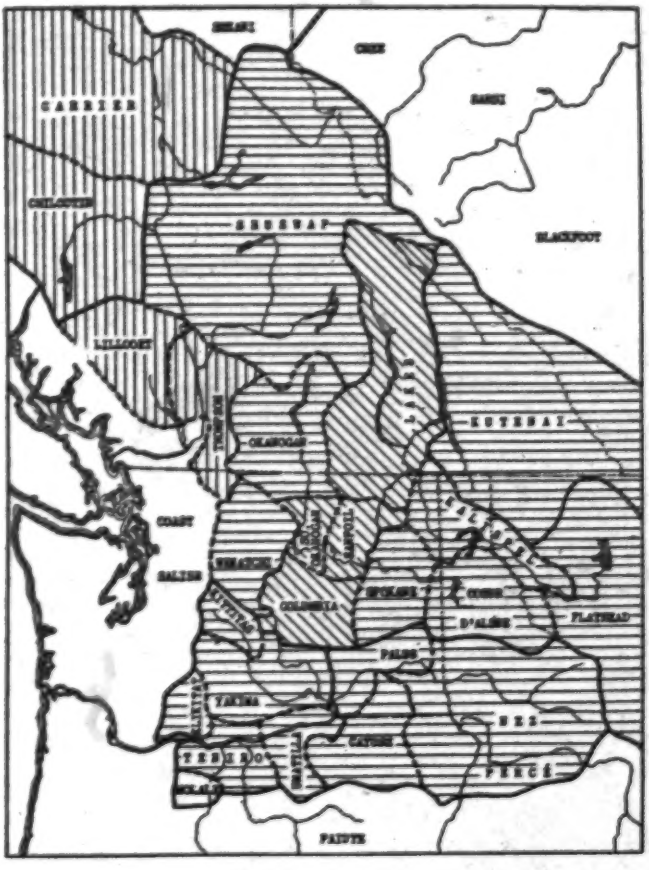
a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage. 567

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-



MAP 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too, 567

> slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

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known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe.[47]

Slavery is but weakly developed among the Kutenai; all slaves are captives of war. They are not cruelly treated.[48]

Trading in slaves is practiced to a limited degree by the Thompson, but like their southern neighbors, most of the slaves held are captives.

When a captive woman bore children to her master, she was considered one of the tribe, and neither she nor her children were ever afterward called slaves, at least openly. Some captive children were treated well, and were even adopted into the family of their master, but other slaves were often treated cruelly.[49]

The Lower Thompson treat their slaves with even less consideration, and family adoption is unknown. Indeed, the children of slaves occupy like status; they are not free.

This new note of ill-treatment is characteristic of the Shuswap also. Here a slave is sometimes killed upon the death of his master, and buried with the latter. Trading in slaves is practiced to a moderate degree.[50] The lot of the slave is an unfortunate one among the Carrier, as well.

To the south, among the Wishram, somewhat similar conditions prevail. Although ordinarily well treated, the recalcitrant slave is dealt with severely; a runaway's feet are burned with a torch. A chief's personal slaves, at least, are killed upon the death of their master. A certain number of slaves are taken in war, but the majority are purchased, often to be resold. Trading in slaves is an important activity here at the great Dalles commercial center.[51]

In nearby Oregon the Tenino take quite a different attitude toward slavery. The institution is disapproved but tolerated. In late years the Klamath encouraged them to act as intermediaries in the slave trade between them and the Wishram.

The Klamath perhaps subject their slaves to less human treatment than any other Plateau tribe.

Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy.

[47] *Idem*, p. 158. [48] Chamberlain, *Kootenay Indians*, p. 185.
[49] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 290. [50] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 536, 592.
[51] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 221–24.

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It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

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Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.
[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

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177 and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the
567 Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[55]

[55] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 40.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 79 f.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[61]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[62] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[63] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among
628 the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[64]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[61] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[62] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 78.
[63] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[64] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

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Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish.

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The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

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721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[68]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[68] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.[69]

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

> Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

> There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.
>
> Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.[70]

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

[69] Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.
[70] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24–27.

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628 721 it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

177 721 No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

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In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[74] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[75] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[76] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[74] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[75] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[76] Smith, *loc. cit.*

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Dances Associated with War

535 726 787 The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

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Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

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> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[90] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[91] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[90] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[91] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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535 727 A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

177 535 727 In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[92]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[93]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[92] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[93] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority. They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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177 535 727 killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

841 881 Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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MENSTRUAL PRACTICES

841 881 Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

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The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[184]

Puberty Isolation and Training

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In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[185]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[184] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[185] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 110 f.

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Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food by the Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[106]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[106] Cline, *loc. cit.*

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wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs.

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

Dance of Notification

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311–17.

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111]

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This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f. [112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

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The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

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It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[113] Related practices are found in California. 177 881

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; disposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively. 764

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[113] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

724 is available, horses are tethered on top of the fresh grave to eradicate all indications of the burial. Grave markers naturally are not used by them. In other parts of the southern Plateau, erect sticks or simple posts are used to indicate the location. The Umatilla do not follow this prac-

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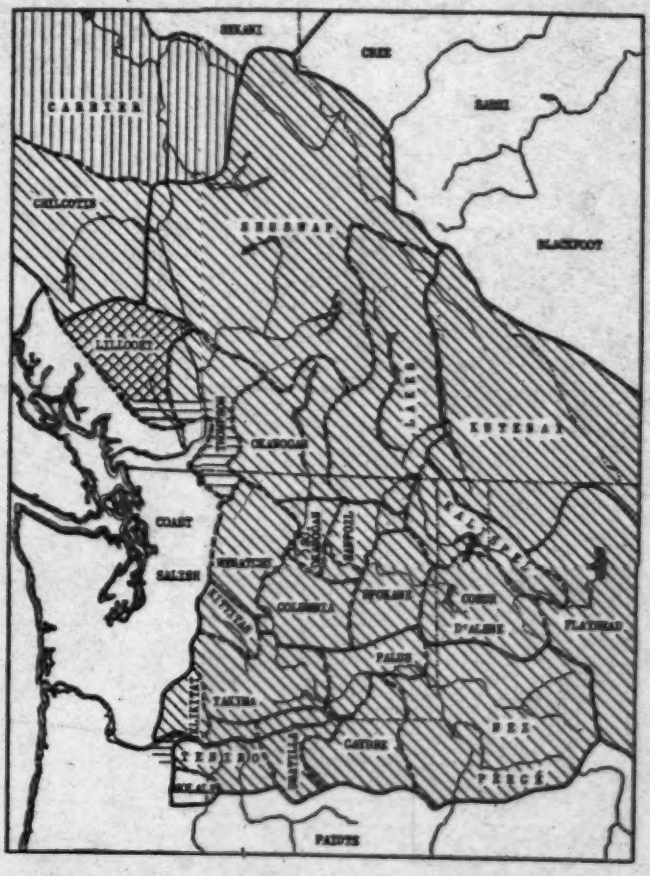

MAP 6. Disposal of the dead: dominant forms. *Vertical hatching:* cremation; *cross hatching:* basket burial and inhumation; *horizontal hatching:* box or house burial; *diagonal hatching:* inhumation.

764 tice but use a large rock instead. The Kutenai place a pole on the ground on each side of the mound left after filling the grave. In other parts of the Canadian Plateau more elaborate grave markers are used.

Over most graves [of the Upper Thompson] were erected conical huts

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made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches. Others, those belonging to the richer people, had conical tents made of skins or mats put over them. Poles were also erected at many graves, and on these were suspended many of the articles belonging to the dead person. The poles always had the bark peeled off, and were painted. . . . On many graves, particularly in the country near Lytton, the canoe of the deceased was placed bottom side up. On some graves were wooden figures almost life size, carved as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman. The Indians say that a long time ago grave figures were not used by the Upper Thompsons, and that this custom was borrowed from the lower division,[114] which in turn, it may be added, received it from the people of the lower Fraser River. The Shuswap use shelters similar to those described, but do not place canoes or carved posts on graves. The Upper Lillooet build a framework of four poles from which are suspended the belongings of the deceased.

In general very little attention is given to lining the grave, although poles or bark may sometimes be used for the purpose. Of the Flathead, however, Turney-High writes,

> They say the oldest method was to prepare a floor of flat stone slabs when these could be had. A wall of such stones was then built up higher than the depth of the corpse. A houselike structure was then prepared to protect his head and feet. Saplings were laid over this stone structure and a parfleche *stretched over them before the grave was filled in.*[115]

Alternative, simpler methods are also described.

The grave is prepared for flexed or extended burial according to usage. In the north central Plateau (Lillooet, Shuswap, Upper Thompson, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alêne) the body is invariably flexed but in all other parts of the area the extended position is found.

Although cremation is the universal practice of the Carrier, and perhaps the Sekani, Morice interprets it as a recent importation from the Coast. The original custom of the Athabascans, he asserts,

> seems to have been to enclose the bodies within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from three to seven feet above the ground on stout poles or posts, much after the manner of the scaffoldings whereon they cache their provisions and other household impedimenta. . . .

[114] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 329.
[115] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 142.

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764 [The Sekani] occasionally concealed the remains of their dear ones within trees hollowed out for the purpose. Simple plebians, or people who enjoyed no special consideration, were simply left where they died, their fellows immediately lowering on their scarcely-cold bodies the shelters they had lived in, and moving on in their incessant peregrinations after game. In no case was cremation resorted to. But the Babines and Carriers had no sooner come in contact with the Skeena representatives of the Tsimshian stock, among whom the dead were cremated, than forsooth they commenced to burn the remains of those who fell out from among them. They even went so far as to erect as resting places for the small bones that would escape the ravages of the fire, those lofty funeral poles with square ornamented boxes so common along the coast of the northern Pacific. . . . Harmon, one of the first representatives of the Northwest Fur Trading Company in the west, tells us that the influence of the Carriers was leading the Sekanais to burn their dead.[116]

Jenness, in turn, quotes Harmon to the effect that cremation supplanted burial in the ground and adds,

The present-day Sekani have a clear remembrance of cremation, but not of burial in the ground. They assert that they discontinued cremation before the middle of the century, and reverted to an ancient custom, never entirely abandoned, of covering the dead with the brush huts that had sheltered them during their last days and then deserting the locality; but men of influence during that period they deposited in coffins raised on platforms or trees.[117]

It seems probable that the "coffins" referred to by Jenness are the "rough cratings" of Morice. If true boxes were intended, such as those used by the Carrier for bones, it seems certain that they were adopted from the Carrier. Since the latter received them from the Coast at a relatively late time, they surely could not belong to an old culture stratum of Sekani culture. One thing appears certain: the Sekani-Carrier do not practice inhumation and have not for time immemorial. They are thus quite definitely set apart from the peoples to the south in this respect.

Furthermore, cremation is fairly well established as a recent importation from the Coast, the older and typical method of disposal involving felling the hut over the body. The Chilcotin were coming to use cremation more and more up to the time of its abandonment through white influence. This increase was apparently the result of more frequent contact with the Coast. The use of cremation by the Shuswap

[116] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 199.
[117] Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, p. 382; cf. Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 62.

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and Thompson is limited to deaths far from home or during warfare. The Thompson cremate less frequently than the Shuswap. This, together with the fact that the Lower Thompson do not cremate, indicates that the custom reached this area from the Chilcotin or more probably the Carrier. This suggests that the practice is of but slight age.

An alternative explanation for the presence of cremation here, and possibly to the north, is that these practices are but the remnants of ancient custom. The nature and distribution of the trait does not favor this interpretation, and it would not deserve a thought except for the archaeological presence of cremation somewhat farther south, and the current practice of the Klamath-Modoc. On the other hand, archaeological evidence within Lower Thompson territory shows inhumation to have been the former practice, although more recently disposal has been above ground. A final answer must wait upon further digging in the Plateau; at present the weight of evidence favors an outside origin for cremation.[118]

Klamath cremation links with that of northeastern California; the nearby Plateau tribes uniformly lack the practice.

The Wishram stand alone in the southern Plateau in their use of burial houses. For the particular type of structure there is no parallel anywhere in the Plateau; the miniature "houses" of the Lower Thompson differ considerably. The Wishram

> burial house was a small rectangular structure of planks set over a shallow pit, measuring about ten feet to the side and six feet high, and with a shed-roof, that is, with but a single pitch. The wall planks were set vertically. . . . "In them the bodies were laid with their heads to the west, sometimes piled up to a depth of three or four feet. Carved wooden images were frequently set up around the vaults, and the planks were often carved and painted to represent men or various animals."[119]

Disposal by the Lower Thompson is predominately in boxes; in fact, the "houses" referred to above are scarcely more than large boxes provided with sloping roofs. All types, large and small, are built up of cedar planks; none are dug out.

The boxes had lids, and were supported by posts, which were also often

[118] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 271; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 335 f.; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 71–73.

[119] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

TABLE 1. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU SOCIAL CULTURE*

Aspects	Klamath	Nez Percé	Umatilla	Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat	Kittitas	Wenatchi	S. Okanogan	Sanpoil	Coeur d'Alene	Kalispel	Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson	Shuswap	Lillooet	Chilcotin	Carrier
Political																			
Strict local autonomy																			
Small bands of villages																			
Chieftainship loosely hereditary																			
Female chiefs (other than substitutes)																			
Chief's spokesman																			
Fishing rights local; hunting land unrestricted																			
Communal fishing weirs																			
Social equality for freemen																			
All men free (no slavery)																			
Slaves rare																			
Warfare																			
Strict pacifism																			
Warfare rare																			
Warfare raid-like																			
Dance for supernatural aid precedes																			
Plateau type victory dance																			
Puberty																			
Ceremony for boys																			
Isolation, intensive training for girls																			
Elaborated menstrual tabus																			
Isolation at subsequent menstrual periods																			
Burial																			
Inhumation in soil																			
Inhumation in talus, gravel																			
Body flexed																			
Body extended																			
Grave exorcised																			

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painted and carved. Each box belonged to a family or group of families, and many bodies were placed in the same box. When the boxes were full, a new one was made and placed near by. Some of these boxes had pitched roofs. Poles and grave figures were put up around the boxes. Articles of clothing and other offerings were often attached to these. . . . A few old burial places consisted of a staging erected on poles or posts. The bodies were wrapped in mats of cedar-bark in a sitting position, and deposited in boxes or on the stagings.[120]

There can be no question as to the origin of the disposal practices of the Wishram and Lower Thompson. Both were received from the Coast, one via the Columbia River, the other via the Fraser River. Likewise, the basket burial of the Lillooet is clearly coastal in origin. The large coiled basket merely has been substituted for the box.

[120] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 335.

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* The table presents traits of social culture typical to the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it.

The tribes are listed in approximate geographical order from south to north. The vertical lines mark transitions from one linguistic stock to another. The double lines separate tribes of the Canadian or northern Plateau from those of the American or southern Plateau. The geographical area of the northern part is about equal to that of the southern portion; the latter occupies more space on the chart merely because a larger number of groups is represented.

Breaks in the lines on the chart represent ascertained distributional absence, not merely lack of knowledge, except occasionally for the Wishram and Nez Percé.

Certain traits shown on the maps are utilized here also in order that they may be brought into visual relationship. Also, the table supplements the maps, adding the Klamath, whose extreme southerly habitat is beyond the border of the maps.

The charts are intended primarily as visual aids. Most of the items included are discussed in the text.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

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quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits." 776 787

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the 776 787 869

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776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life. 776 787

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact. 533 776 787

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted. 776 787

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776 787 The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

756 776 787 869 The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

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The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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of all unusual, impressive, or significant occurrences in terms of spirit power. Reference to one's own spirit was never specific, however, but always couched in vague or generic terms: 'my power,' 'my helper,' or, in colloquial English, 'my partner.' This last expression, heard constantly among these peoples even today, reflects most accurately the native attitude toward spirit power.[10]

This domination of life by spirit matters occurs with roughly equal intensity among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Kalispel, and Columbia. Emphasis is only slightly lighter among the Lakes, Spokane, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Wenatchi, and Kittitas, the last a Sahaptin group. Other Sahaptin peoples give markedly less attention to spirit matters but I cannot escape the conviction that this difference is of slight age and the direct result of Plains influence. All Sahaptin peoples share the extended Winter Spirit Dance with the Salish groups mentioned above.

In contrast, the interior Salish of British Columbia (exclusively) lack the Winter Spirit Dance entirely and emphasize the spirit quest and spirit causation more as formal ritual than as deep emotional ideology. For example, spirit intrusion and spirit loss as causes of illness are hardly present here, whereas to the south they are of momentous importance (see below). The period of absence on each spirit quest was considerably longer here than in the American Plateau, but this cannot be used as a criterion. The accumulated time after long repeated one-night quests might easily overbalance that of a single extended quest. The longest quests are found among the Lillooet where the duration may reach a year. Yet few persons engage in the quest and the whole concept plays a definitely minor role. The lengthening of the quest, both in this and in less extreme cases, is clearly the result of formalization and ritual emphasis, not religious intensity. The quest practice here of vigorously rubbing the body with conifer twigs might be interpreted as indicative of spiritual fervor if it were not that the custom is clearly borrowed from the Coast and that the identical explanation—ritual cleanliness—is given for its observance. The same applies to induced vomiting.

The Chilcotin present no problem in this respect. Spirit concepts are clearly of secondary importance in their lives. Their practices lie intermediately between those of the Lillooet and the Carrier. The spirit pattern of the Carrier, while dramatic, does not for a moment contest

[10] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 593 f.

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with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point: 182 771

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned. 776 787

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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> Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. . . . The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.[14]

Do the Southern Okanogan really make this unusual distinction? The answer may be sought in the terminology of the native language. The term su·mi'x (Southern Okanogan) is used, with dialectical variations, throughout the region as the sole term for the designation of the guardian spirit or the power associated with the spirit. In the translation of native texts the interpreter sometimes translates su·mi'x as "power," sometimes as "partner," and when he learns the ethnologist's term spirit, he adds that to the variants. But to the naïve informant the term spirit usually, if not always, calls up the notion of ghost or soul rather than guardian. But I have never encountered the slightest conceptual confusion between guardian spirit and soul anywhere in the Plateau. Spier states of the Klamath, "Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits."[15] The Sanpoil, like certain other Plateau groups, locate the soul near the heart or thereabouts, but nowhere in the entire area is the spirit conceived as residing in the body. Even among the Kutenai, where the spirit enters the body during the vision, it immediately leaves and must be called back when needed. Therefore it appears certain that Cline is confusing informants' statements regarding the soul and the spirit, when, in the statements above, he distinguishes between spirit and power and localizes the latter in the body.[16]

This is not to deny that distinctions between spirit and power exist in parts of the Plateau, or that power or talents are not conferred which are effective without constant spirit presence. The Klamath do not receive guardians that serve as familiars, but merely derive abiding power from a supernatural experience involving a spirit. Spier observes that

> The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts or professions or for success and wealth.[17]

[14] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 133. [15] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 100.
[16] The distinction between soul and spirit is further discussed below.
[17] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 250.

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The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of disease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following

[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

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776 787 acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

756 787 869 881 The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

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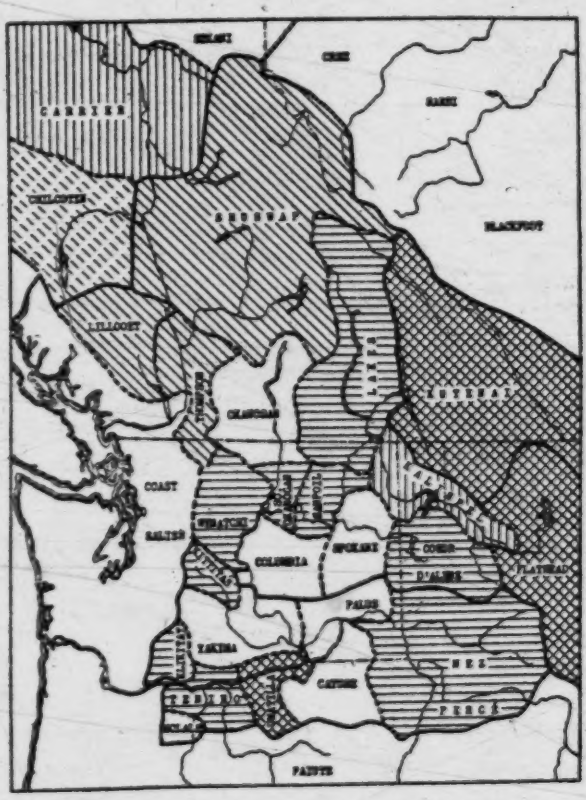
sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing pre-puberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

or tributaries, which clearly indicates the route of diffusion: Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Southern Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alêne.[26] The distribution of dwarfs as tutelaries is identical (except possibly for the Southern Okanogan) but hardly coincidental. My data bear out Park's observation that a belief in dwarfs is more widespread than their occurrence as guardians.[27] In addition to the group mentioned above, dwarfs are known to the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Flathead, Shuswap, and Carrier.

Spirits whose normal form is anthropomorphic are infrequent except for the dwarfs. But not only anthropomorphic but human spirits are declared to be recognized by the Thompson and, by implication, the Shuswap.[28] But the guise in which spirits appear to human beings is uniformly anthropomorphic among all Plateau peoples with the following exceptions. The marginal Kutenai and the Kalispel recognize both animal and human guise while the Carrier and Chilcotin spirits appear only in animal or half-human form. The animal guise may be typical of the Mackenzie area; it is specifically the Sekani pattern. But it is probably more widespread, especially southward into the Plains.[29] This would explain the Kalispel-Kutenai compromise. Since the dominant spirits of the Coast, mythological beings, are fundamentally anthropomorphic in form, the Plateau stands out as a unit in recognizing animal spirits which assume anthropomorphic form in contact with man.

Park treats as one the concepts of power derived from ghosts and that derived from spirits of dead relatives.[30] This is not justified in the Plateau. A brief digression is necessary to explain.

During life, the guardian spirit and its possessor are clearly distinguished as two distinct entities; this has been pointed out above. A third entity, the soul, is conceptually distinct from these two and materially distinct from the spirit; indeed, wholly unrelated to it. On the other hand, the soul is inextricably linked with the material human body in a physical way; it is the animating force in the body. Separation of the two entails immediate death or serious illness followed by death if

[26] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 245; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 236 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 135 f.

[27] Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 78 f.

[28] Contrary to Park (*Shamanism*, p. 77); Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 605.

[29] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68–70; Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, pp. 12 ff.

[30] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 79.

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775 the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located
776 somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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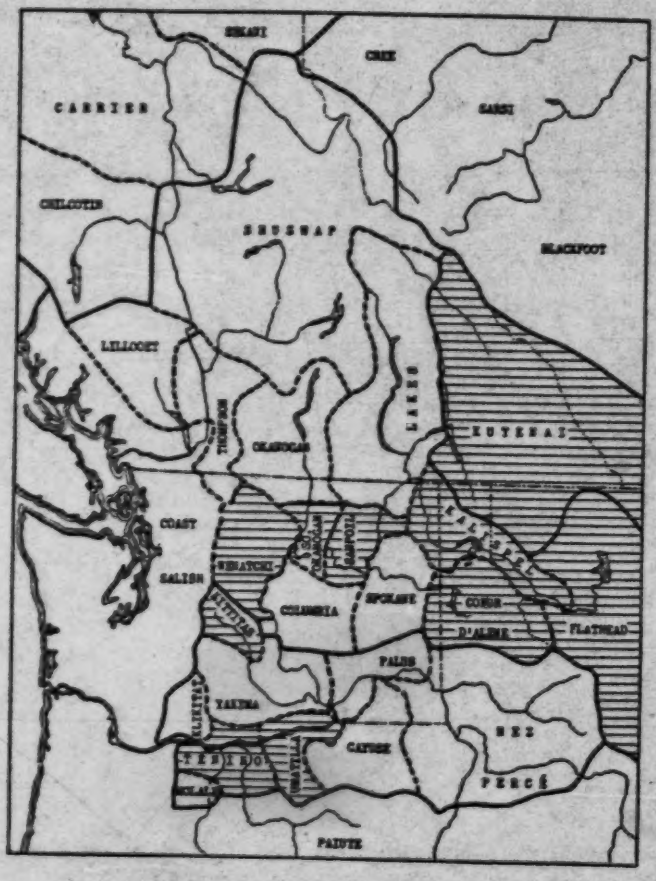

MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

775 Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disinte-
776 grates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genus; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous ones. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one. 776

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision. 776 787

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this 424 776

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 249.

[36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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424 776 kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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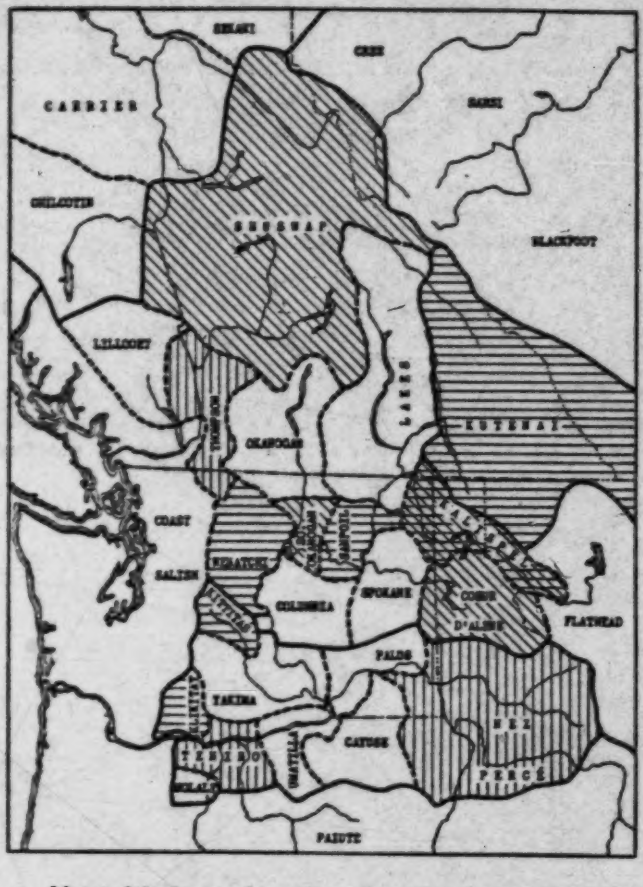

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it*. The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[a]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[a]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[a] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[a] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[a] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[a] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.

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here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far

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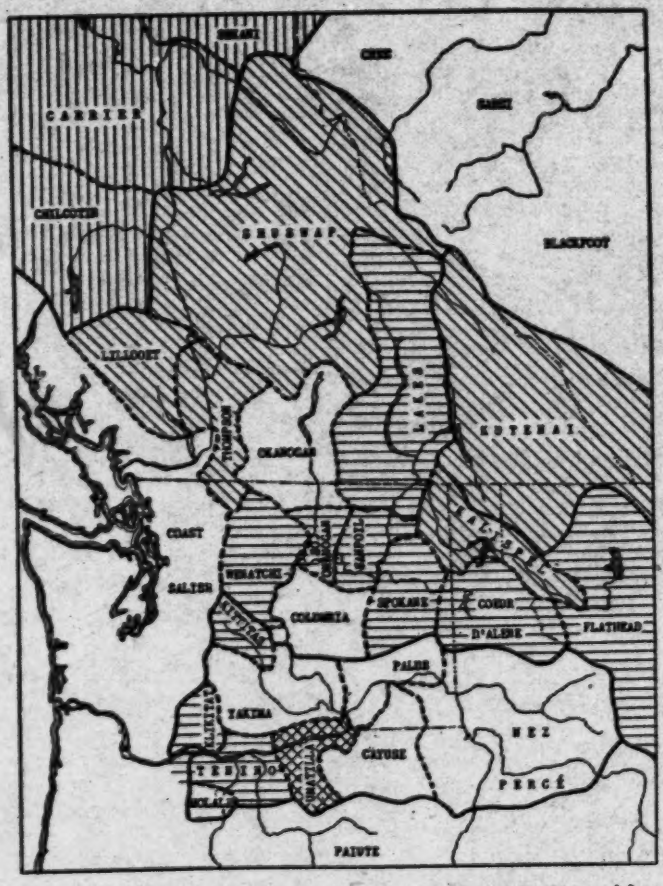

MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

Shaman versus Layman

An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

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562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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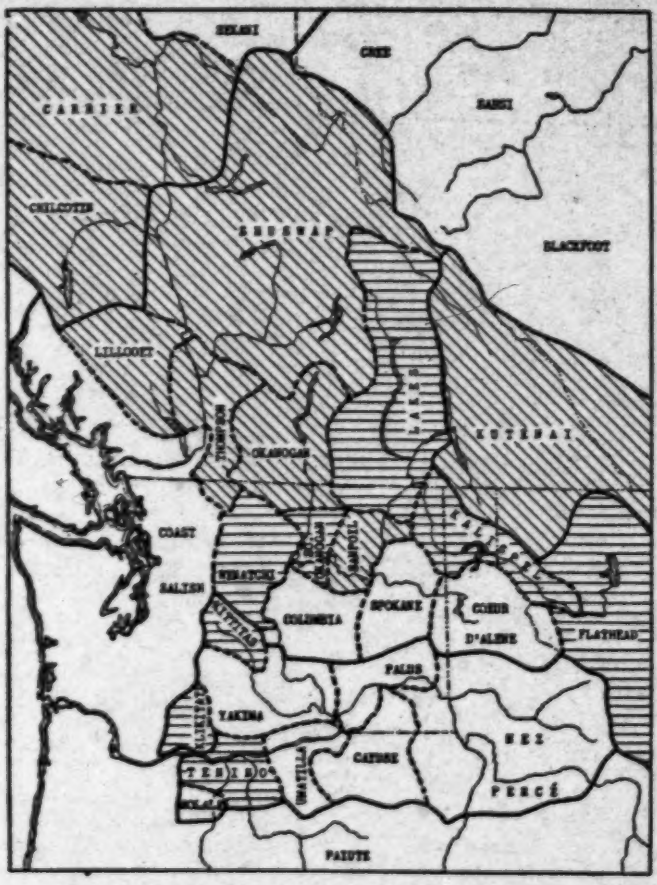

MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching:* special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching:* specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Shamanistic specialization of function may be divided into three categories. First, specific powers spiritually bestowed; that is, the guardian spirit of the shaman may specifically present him with the ability to cure certain types of disease with especial ease and certainty. This form of specialization is found among a block of peoples on the western border of the American Plateau (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino).[52] In all of these cases, except possibly the Tenino, specialization is supplementary to general practice. Again on the eastern border bestowed specialities appear (Kalispel, Flathead). The second type is specialization by reputation: this is the result of consistent success by a shaman in the treatment of a particular type of disease. It has nothing to do with a practitioner's spirit power as such; it is concerned with actual experience, a pragmatic concept. It is found throughout the Canadian Plateau, including the Chilcotin and Carrier, and minimally among the Sanpoil. The third category is specialization according to strength. Some types of ailment are more difficult to cure than others; stronger doctors are naturally required if success is to be achieved. These stronger shamans are the ones with many guardian spirits, or spirits with intrinsically superior power. Consequently, particular shamans are consistently called for ailments of the more serious type. This specialization according to shaman's strength is found more or less in all groups but especially among the Coeur d'Alêne, Shuswap, and Carrier. The Klamath, Wishram, and Umatilla do not recognize any type of specialization except the last.[53] The distributions in this case do not align as usual. Bestowed specialization quite probably links with the Coast on the west, but the eastern cases are uncertain. The Canadian unit stands out, but the American area is divided. Yet the wholly negative groups in the south are fairly continuous.

CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Plateau concepts of disease causation fall into clear-cut categories. The most common of these emphasizes the familiar idea of intrusion: a foreign element somehow gains entrance into the body and its presence causes illness. This general concept must be subdivided: the intrusive element may be a material object, such as a fragment of stone, a hair, a bit of bone, or an insect; or, in marked contrast, it may be another's

[52] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 162 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, p. 100.

[53] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 108, 123; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 244 ff.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

753 guardian spirit that gains entrance. The latter case may be termed "intrusion of a foreign spirit" but it must be remembered that the spirit involved is invariably a guardian spirit; no spirits outside this category are given attention in the Plateau. Furthermore, the spirit is invariably

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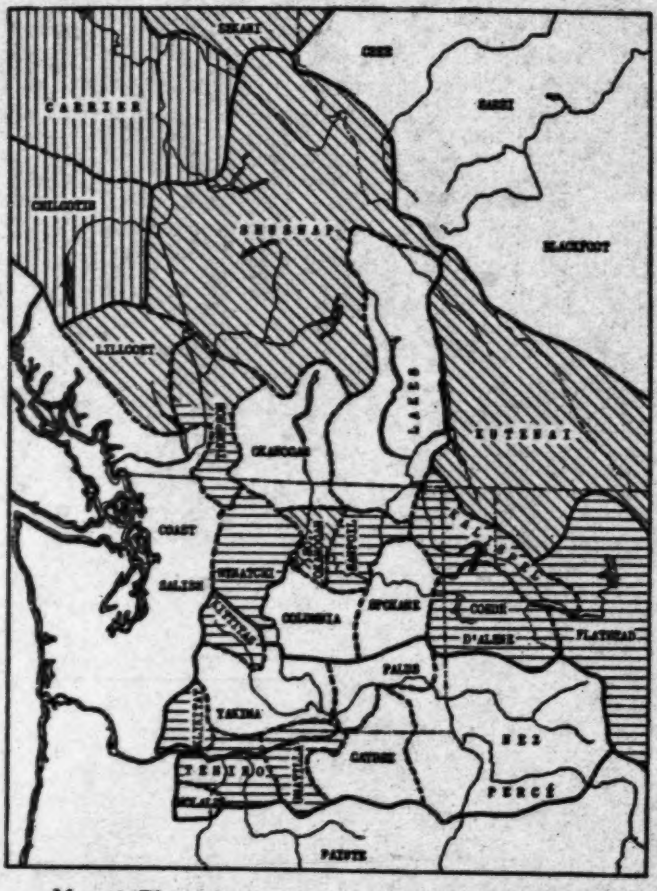

MAP 12. Disease by intrusion. *Vertical hatching:* intrusive object; *diagonal hatching:* spirit causes intrusion of object; *horizontal hatching:* intrusive object, intrusive spirit.

753 non-human in essence; it should not be confused with the human soul.

The *intrusive object* theory is widespread, encompassing the whole of the Plateau, and, of course, a vastly wider area. The more limited distribution of the *intrusive spirit* theory gives it greater significance for

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local relations and history. Its currency has been noted above; it characterizes the American Plateau but is absent to the north. The intrusion of the spirit is commonly, though not invariably, effected by a malignant shaman. Now in the same area there exists the further belief that the intrusion of objects is likewise the work of a shaman in most cases. But this view is not limited to the American Plateau; it is found throughout the area including even the Sekani in the north and possibly the Carrier and Chilcotin. It appears that we are dealing with: (1) an extremely widespread and old concept, intrusive objects, in no way distinguishing the Plateau;[54] (2) the notion of shamanistic ability to influence and control events in the material world by supernatural means, obviously as widespread as is shamanism itself; (3) the association of this talent and the intrusive object theory, again found everywhere in the Plateau, and extending beyond, but not to the degree of the first or second beliefs; (4) the substitution in this complex (3) of the spirit for the object, the spirit being equally subject to control and more effective since it possesses both power and volition. The last is limited to the American Plateau, as indicated above. No great step is involved in the substitution, since, in Plateau practice, the effective agent in object intrusion is always the power of the spirit as directed by the shaman. This identifies spirit intrusion as a typical Plateau trait, a local development probably relatively recent in origin.

The preceding argument runs counter to Clements' reconstructions.[55] It must immediately be noted that the complex which I have called spirit intrusion, for facility of expression, is not the simple element with which Clements is dealing. Even so, the assumptions conflict. "All occurrences [of spirit intrusion] are historically related,"[56] he declares, and nowhere does he suggest a relationship, for any area, between spirit intrusion and object intrusion. Furthermore, his own map and table show no instance of spirit intrusion for any part of the Plateau. Its presence is indicated for Puget Sound and coastal Washington on the basis of Klallam and Lower Chinook data alone. The Klallam information is precise. I have recently been able to substantiate the Lower Chinook case.[57] But Olson does not mention spirit intrusion for

[54] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 210.

[55] *Idem*, pp. 216–25.

[56] *Idem*, p. 242.

[57] Clements bases his assumptions regarding the Chinook upon the free translation of a brief and equivocal segment of text from Boas (*Chinook Texts*, p. 207): "The spirits of the

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753 the Quinault, nor Haeberlin for Puget Sound.[88] The nature of Chinook belief points to diffusion downriver from the Plateau,[89] and it should be added that the isolated Klallam case exactly duplicates Plateau belief.

A second important theory of disease causation held in the Plateau relates to one's own guardian spirit. The dominant form involves loss of the tutelary from one cause or another. These causes fall into three well recognized categories: (1) theft by a malignant shaman; (2) mere wandering away; and (3) desertion because of "mistreatment." The order is that of native emphasis based upon frequency of occurrence. Serious illness is caused by such loss, but proves fatal only after prolonged absence combined with consistent futility of shamanistic efforts to effect return.

In the Canadian Plateau the Lillooet and Lower Thompson appear to be the only groups sharing the guardian spirit loss notion. But to the south it is widespread (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kittitas, Klikitat, Umatilla, Tenino, Wishram[90]) but does not reach the Klamath. Down the Columbia it is found as far as the Lower Chinook. Clearly the American Plateau is the center for this trait, with diffusion occurring to the northwest, and westward along the Columbia.

Intra-areal relations are shown in the incidence of sub-traits. The occurrence of the first, shamanistic theft, is coincidental with that of the general concept. The second, loss by inadvertant wandering, shows a spotty distribution: Lillooet, Kalispel, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Tenino. Deliberate desertion, the third aspect, spreads from northwest to southeast across the central Plateau: Lillooet, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead.

Another aspect of personal guardian spirit illness is that associated with the return of one's guardian spirit at maturity or at the time of the winter dance. Among tribes where the guardian spirit is absent from

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seers reach the soul of a sick person. They take it and lift it." The literal translation of the native text reads: "It is reached, his soul, a sick one's. It is taken, it is lifted" (*idem*, p. 198). But Clements quotes, in the same paper, a statement made by Boas at a later time which virtually contradicts Clements' interpretation of the Chinook extract. Boas says: "Belief in obsession is a most characteristic form of belief in the Old World. On the other hand, it seems quite foreign to the beliefs of American tribes. . . . The spirits may *attack* man but they do not *enter* his body" (quoted in Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 188; italics mine).

[88] Olson, *Quinault Indians*; Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*.

[89] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 78 ff.; Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 370 f.

[90] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244.

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the time of acquisition until maturity, the return is marked by a physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness (see above). Sometimes this illness recurs at the opening of each dance season for several winters. Wherever this occurs an obvious link with

MAP 13. Spirit loss illness. *Diagonal hatching:* shamanistic theft; *horizontal hatching:* desertion due to mistreatment; *vertical hatching:* loss by wandering away.

the Coast is indicated, since there spirits are absent except during the winter season and each annual return is accompanied by physical reactions. The Plateau distribution of personal guardian spirit illness is beautifully illustrative of upriver influence along the Columbia. It oc-

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753 curs with the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil.[a] The specific coastal pattern, illness each winter, does not extend as far upriver as might be anticipated. It is found among the Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, and probably Wishram.

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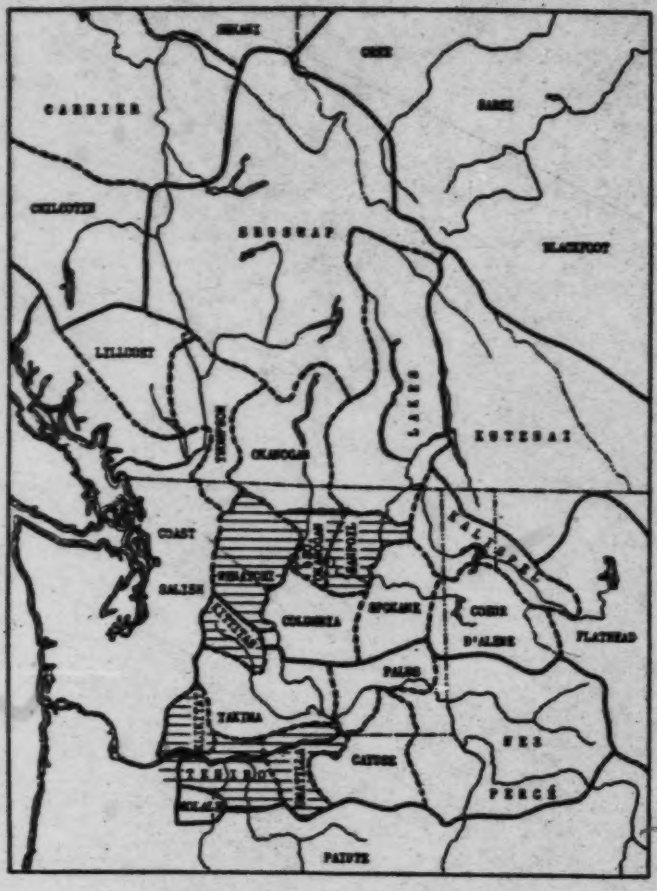

MAP 14. Illness due to spirit return.

753 There is no evidence of a similar diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

Soul loss is the remaining major disease concept of the Plateau. This is the belief that the animating human soul may become temporarily de-

[a] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 145.

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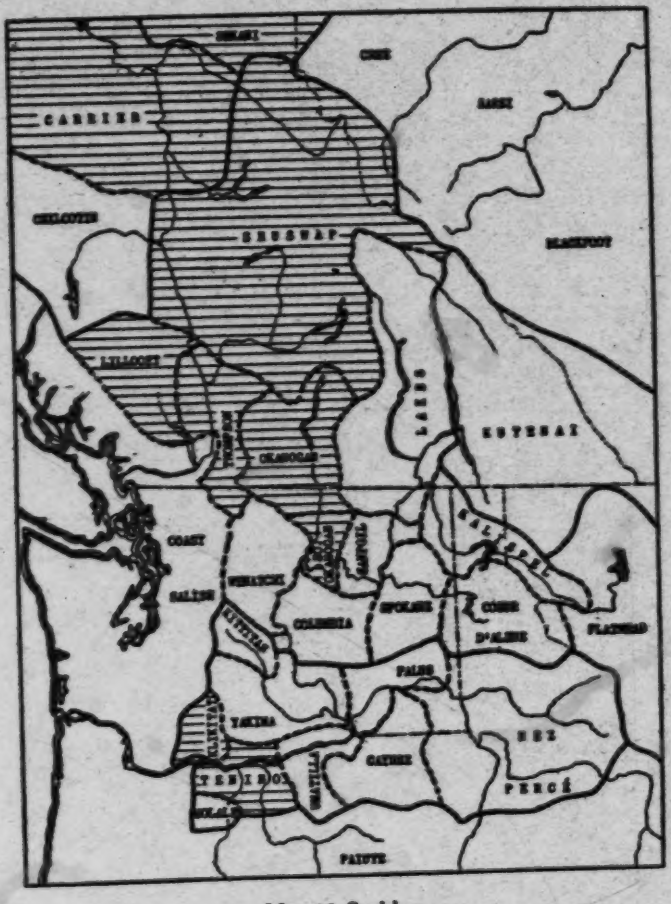
tached from the physical body without death occurring immediately. The accompanying illness is invariably serious—usually the most serious of any ailment—and death comes very soon if the soul is not recovered. Care should be taken not to confuse this concept with guardian



MAP 15. Soul loss.

spirit loss, discussed above. The loose usage of the two terms, spirit and soul, often leads to such confusion, with serious theoretical consequences. Clements falls into this error in his paper on disease concepts.[82] He attributes soul loss to the entire Plateau, which is far from the truth.

[82] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, pp. 190–201, 225–40.

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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

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ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[66] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[66] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[87]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[88]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[87] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[88] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

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We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

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stratum of gift-giving. But I do not think anyone wants to do this; it certainly would be confusing. The word would, in consequence, be applicable to cultures in any part of the world. Certainly Olson is not arguing for such a meaning when he contrasts the potlatch of the Quinault with that of the Kwakiutl:

> In the potlatches of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes the features of bitter rivalry, high rates of interest, destruction of goods, fictitious values, and the "fighting with wealth" stand out as pathological social patterns. . . . I mention these points for the reason that the potlatch of the Kwakiutl has long been regarded as typifying the whole potlatch system of the area. Actually it is an extreme type, an example of the lengths to which an institution may be carried. A potlatch like that of the Quinault is far more likely to turn out to be the proto-type. Its pattern remains fairly simple; no deeplaid plots, no egotistical mania surround its inception and execution.[80]

But it does involve formal invitations in order of social position, large accumulations of wealth, primary interest in quantity and distribution, a wealth tallyman, rehearsals, and wealth songs. But more important than all this, perhaps, is the fact that the gifts represented the *wealth of the host* and marked his social position; in distinct contrast to the Plateau where the gifts were *provided by the guests* as well as the host, and the amount furnished by the latter was no reflection of rank.

In a recent study Barnett has attempted to present sufficient evidence in its proper perspective to contribute to a better understanding of the potlatch:

> Above all, the present summary points to a more refined and definitive concept, and consequently to a more circumspect use of the term. It signifies not simply an exchange of gifts, for that custom is too widespread and diversely associated to be the criterion of the potlatch. Neither is the latter fundamentally competitive. It is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status.[81]

We have been carried far afield from the discussion of the Spirit Dance as such, but may profitably remain afield for the moment. Lower Chinook ceremonies throw light upon the history of yet another aspect of spirit ceremonialism and of the potlatch: the secret society of the Coast.

[80] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[81] Barnett, *Nature of the Potlatch*, p. 357.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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177 796 is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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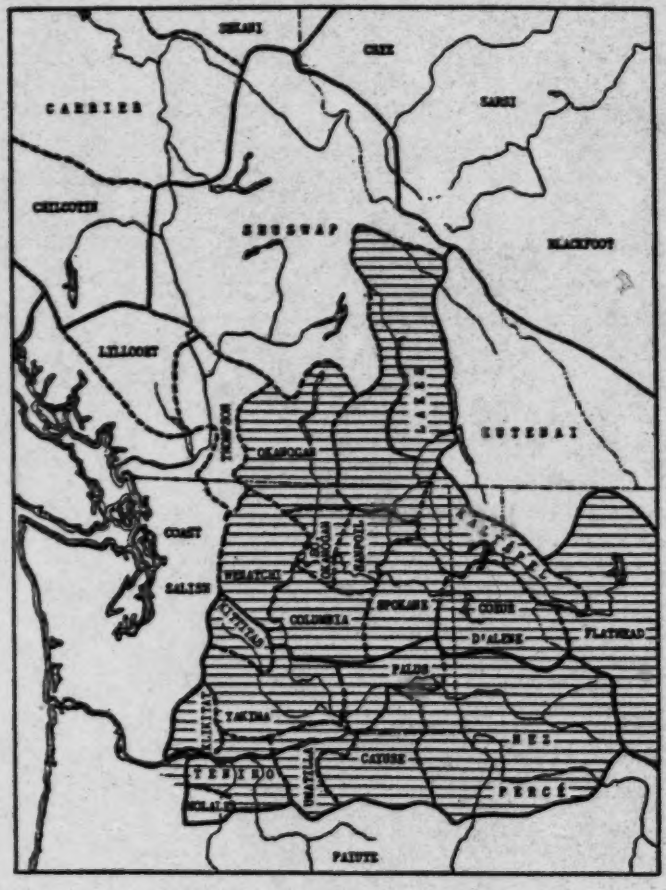

MAP 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

177 796 tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

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Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

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> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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535 771 796 the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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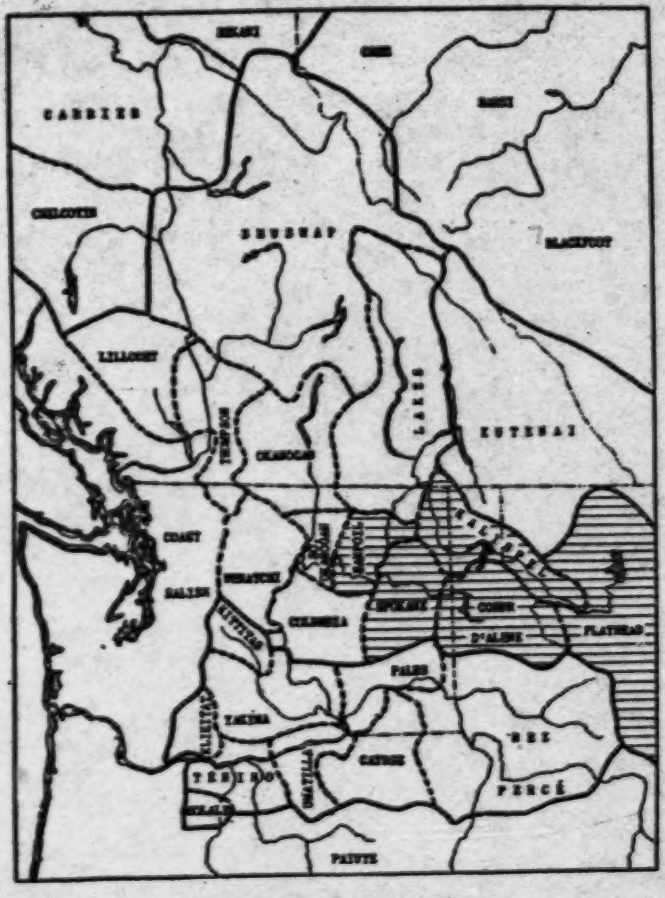
became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,



MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[95]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[95] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[96] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[96] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkĭd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkĭd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Mídē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

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may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

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The Flathead Spirit Dance

Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

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The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'l, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (ɬɛ·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

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This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

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the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader remains.

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays,

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sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

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Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

TABLE 2. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU RELIGIOUS LIFE*

	Aspects	Klamath Nez Percé Umatilla Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat Kittitas	Wenatchi S. Okanogan Sanpoil Coeur d'Alène Kalispel Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson Shuswap Lillooet	Chilcotin Carrier
Guardian spirit quest	All boys, some girls sent							
	Pre-puberty							
	Puberty especially							
	Given object to deposit at destination							
	Object of quest indefinite							
	One night vigils							
	Prolonged vigils							
	Vision							
	Spirit appears as human being							
	Spirit appears as animal							
	Spirit may convey any type of power							
	Inheritance through instruction to spirit							
	Reticence toward revealing power							
	Identical quest and vision for shaman and layman							
Illness	Intrusive spirit							
	Spirit causes intrusion of object							
	Spirit loss							
	Treatment by drawing out process							
	Shaman served by spokesman							
	Spirit-ghost concept							
	Ghost is flame-like							
	Winter Guardian Spirit Dance							
	Bluejay complex							
	Sweat House as deity							
	First Salmon ceremony							
	First Products ceremony							

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lary, the impersonation of spirits, and a symbolic recall of mythological times.

A description of the Kutenai Sun Dance is now in order. The following sketch is incomplete, but incorporates the details most pertinent to this problem.

The dance, which is a tribal ceremony, is held once each year in the spring and lasts for six days. The leader is one experiencing, during the preceding year, an auditory vision or dream of the Sun Dance song. When the time for the dance draws near the leader requests his wife to prepare the Sun Dance doll, a six inch male figure made of buckskin stuffed with grass or deer hair. Two eagle feathers, symbolic of the dance, are placed in the hair at the back of the head. During the preparation of the image, the leader each day smokes himself by standing over a smudge of juniper. When finished the doll is placed at the head of the leader's bed where it remains until the fourth day of the ceremony. The leader now selects an assistant who becomes the master of ceremonies.

This selection inaugurates the three day preparatory period preceding the dance proper. Men are now chosen by the leader to bring in the center pole. The actual tree is selected by the assistant, who follows the dictates of the leader as revealed to the latter by his guardian spirit. Those chosen fell the marked tree, taking care to use the direction and number of strokes requested by the leader, again as determined in his dream. While returning to camp, the tree is not permitted to touch the ground. Upon arrival the limbs are removed, the bark peeled, and this refuse burned. The pole is painted and then placed on supports to keep it above the ground until time of erection. At the same time, others prepare the four foundation poles for the dance lodge, together with the supplementary poles. The preparatory period ends with the digging of the hole for the center pole.

The morning of the fourth day is occupied by sweating; the afternoon with the actual erection of the lodge. This is a tipi of usual type, but exceptionally large, requiring three ordinary covers to enclose it.

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* The table presents traits of religious life typical of the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it. See footnote to Table 1, page 67, for general explanation of charts.

For a type description of the shamanistic "drawing-out process," see Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 205.

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796 Even so it is not large enough for all spectators; the lower edge of the cover is rolled up so that some may stand outside. First the center pole is raised to position. The assistant, clad only in a blanket, steps onto the fork of the poles. The frame is raised a few feet from the ground, then lowered; a second time it is raised higher but once more brought down; on the third attempt it is elevated to full height. The assistant, who has stood in the fork with arms outstretched during this procedure, now ties the center pole to the frame and descends on one of the poles. In the meantime the leader has called upon the Crazy Dog Society to obtain the lodge covering. The members arbitrarily select three tipis in the camp circle and strip them of their covers. These are delivered to the site of the lodge where others attach them to the frame. Throughout these activities spectators are present and engage in singing.

Inside the lodge a bed is prepared for the leader. As viewed from the doorway this is located behind and just to the left of the center pole. To the right of the foot of the bed, or near end, is constructed a tiny model of a sweat lodge, only a few inches high. Between this and the center pole a miniature smudge of juniper twigs is prepared but not lighted. All is now in readiness for the dance.

Just at dusk the assistant enters the leader's tipi and secures the doll. Carrying it, he circumambulates the tipi and then the camp circle. Upon returning to the door of the tipi he proceeds directly to the dance lodge where he places the doll in an upright position at the right of the smudge. The leader now enters and walks around the edge of the lodge to his bed where he sits down. Next the musicians enter and take their positions at the back of the lodge. These include several drummers and three whistlers. The latter stand directly behind the leader with the drummers at their left. With the beating of the drums, the dancers and audience appear. They walk in file to the smudge which has now been lighted. Some throw small fragments of juniper on the smudge. Those who are well return by the same route to positions near the door, while the ailing continue to the opposite side of the lodge. All the circuits are made in clockwise order. During this procession a song to the smudge is sung, called the "song of the dance." Great care is taken that the smudge be kept burning uniformly from the time first lighted until the end of the ceremony. The woman selected for this task remains constantly beside the fire.

When the whole group has assembled, the shamans dance toward the center pole. Each carries an object such as a feather, symbolic of his

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guardian spirit, with which he strokes the pole, now full of sickness because the doll has effected the transfer to it of the ailments of the individuals. The shamans make downward motions on the pole while dancing around it and singing. After a time they attempt to remove the sickness from the bottom where it has been concentrated. As this is gradually achieved the shamans one by one fall helpless to the ground. Members of the audience pick them up and hold them over the smudge in order to revivify them and destroy the sickness.

If the attempted removal proves futile the dancers have visions of guns or bows, symbolic of failure. The sickness then remains with the afflicted and another attempt must be made on a later day.

Activity at the pole is sometimes directed at other aspects of tribal welfare. For example, the dancers may attempt to draw game to the pole so that hunting during the succeeding year may be especially productive.

During these performances the dancers are engaged in singing and do not interpret their actions. The leader, however, acts as spokesman for the doll and informs the audience of the success of the shamans. All the while the drummers and whistlers are active. Their lot is a strenuous one, for not only must they perform constantly during the all-night ceremonies but they are not permitted to sleep and must abstain almost completely from food and water. The leader is subjected to unqualified abstinence but he is quite inactive, remaining on his bed throughout. Stationed beside the leader and also each whistler is a lad whose duty it is to walk behind his charge whenever the lodge is left and sweep off his tracks with a broom of branches.

The fifth morning is spent in sweating, the afternoon in preparations for the dance at night. The dance program is identical with that of the fourth night. But at dawn, as the leader starts a new song, the assistant takes the doll and leaves the dance lodge, following, in reverse order, the procedure of bringing it in. After the circuit of the leader's house he "lets the image go," to use the native phrasing. The actual disposal is never revealed. The assistant returns to the dance house and joins the others in a secular dance which serves to terminate the ceremony. Animal hearts and tongues, saved for a long time previously, have been prepared and a great feast is now held. Afterwards the lodge is dismantled and the groups disband.

A Kutenai Sun Dance leader must officiate for three consecutive years or invite death. Votary leadership is apparently unknown, though

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796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

177 796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by

[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

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any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

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the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects. 177 796

[114] See above.

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MATERIAL CULTURE

HABITATIONS

342 Dwellings in the Plateau fall into three general classes: the earth lodge, the mat lodge, and the tipi. The earth lodge assumes a number of distinctive forms. These vary from a cave-like excavation, among the Carrier, to a flat topped pit, in parts of the southern Plateau. Thus the term semi-subterranean lodge, often used, is inapplicable as a generic designation. The circular pit covered with a conical roof is the commonest form encountered in the area, with its highest development in the north central region.

The mat covered lodge is widely distributed and exists side by side with the earth lodge. The name is not distinctive, but several of the forms which this type of dwelling assumes in the Plateau are definitely characteristic of the area. The commonest type presents an inverted-V lateral cross-section with a rectangular ground plan, or a plan with rounded ends. The mats are more often sewn than woven; the material is unusually cattail or tule.

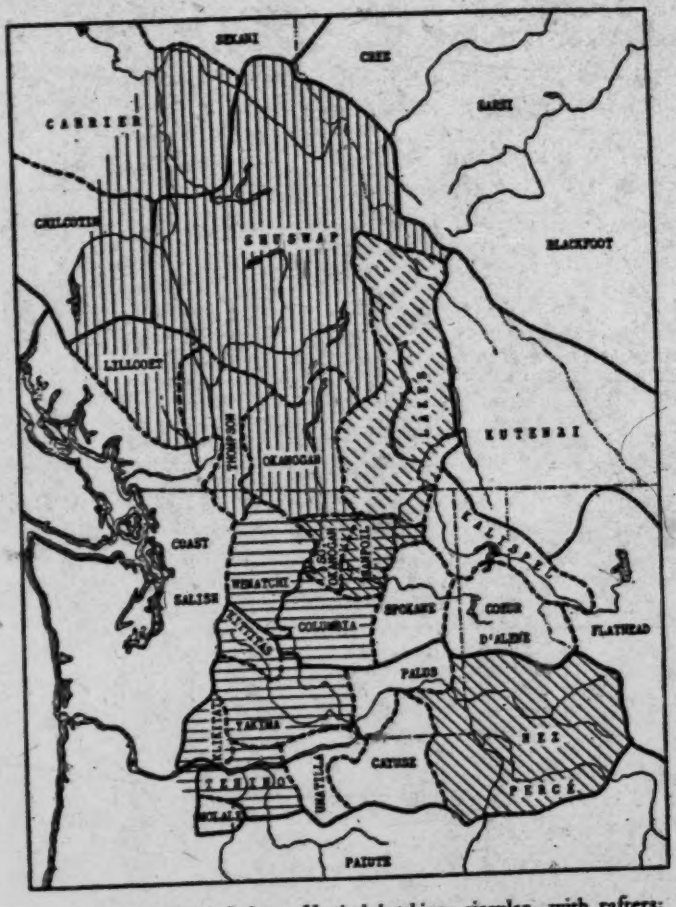
The tipi, an obviously intrusive form, is found only among the Kutenai and Flathead as a typical dwelling. Another intrusive form, the plank house, is frequently used by the Lower Lillooet and western Carrier and occurred in earlier times along the Columbia River as far east as the Nez Percé.

The Earth Lodge

The subterranean dwelling has a wide distribution in northwestern America, and again in northeastern Asia. Jochelson attacked the problem of relationship between these two areas,[1] and later Waterman gave the question further attention. Waterman concludes: "The fairest inference from the available evidence seems to be that the pit-lodges at least of extreme western North America represent the spreading of an idea from one common center."[2] Of Jochelson's assumption that earth lodges in America are genetically related to those of Asia, Waterman states that the theory is now "somewhat more persuasive."[3] It should be added that Waterman posits a relationship between the subterranean dwelling and the plank houses of the Northwest Coast, since the latter

[1] Jochelson, *Subterranean Dwellings*.
[2] Waterman and Collaborators, *Native Houses*, p. 42.
[3] *Idem*, p. 15.

are sometimes built over pits. Olson presents convincing arguments to the contrary in his study of the plank houses of the Northwest Coast.[4] Data from the Plateau, to the degree applicable, support Olson in his contention. (One exception is noted below.)



MAP 18. Earth lodges. *Vertical hatching:* circular, with rafters; *horizontal hatching:* circular, roof of radiating poles; *diagonal hatching:* circular, flat roof; *broken hatching:* circular, radiating poles with purlins.

But the present problem is that of a narrower area. The variations of the earth lodge within the Plateau are considerable. The pit may be either circular or square, the roof conical, pyramidal, or flat, and the

[4] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, pp. 26–30.

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342 entrance at the center or edge. Further, the side entrance may be on the surface or in the form of a tunnel. These are not, however, randomly combined.

The exclusive type in the northwestern Plateau (Okanogan, Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin), excepting the Carrier, is the circular pit with pyramidal roof. The pyramidal form comes primarily from the use of hip rafters running from the edge of the pit to an opening at the top. The upper ends of these rafters usually rest upon vertical supporting posts. Thus the number of central posts is necessarily equal to the number of hip rafters. All use four logs to form a square hatchway. In addition, the Shuswap sometimes use six, forming a hexagonal opening which is in effect round. Likewise, the six planes of the roof present the effect of a cone when covered with earth. The four hip rafters of the Lillooet house, however, do not rest upon center posts at the upper ends. Instead, rafter struts are used, sloping diagonally inward from the middle of the rafter to the floor of the pit. The Lillooet house differs in yet another respect. The lower ends of the rafters are not set on the edge of the pit, but rather in the angle at the bottom edge of the excavation. The result is a squarish floor plan. The hatchway is sometimes a rectangle with the long side twice the-dimension of the short one. This opening is divided in the middle with a log, forming two square hatchways. The exterior shape is modified, becoming more wedge-like. The Okanogan probably shared this type of house. In their case the rafters may have been set at the edge of the pit rather than at the bottom of it.[5] If this be true, it would provide a bit of evidence to bolster Waterman's argument.

The Carrier used an earth lodge identical with the four pole type of the Shuswap. Morice categorically states that it was borrowed from the Shuswap,[6] an interpretation with which members of both tribes agree. In addition they use a type of dwelling which may perhaps be called an earth lodge, but not a subterranean house. It is essentially an artificial cave hollowed from a hill side. The cavity is increased in size by building a frame of logs in front of the opening and covering this with the excavated earth. The walls of the extension slope from a rectangular roof to the ground. The doorway is at ground level opposite the back of the excavation. This structure appears to be a local development, perhaps quite recent. There are no parallels among neighboring

[5] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 40 f. The informant's statements were equivocal.
[6] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dicts*, p. 191.

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peoples. It may be suggested that this is a combination of the log structure of the upper Fraser and the idea of the earth covered lodge.

The Lakes pit lodge differs considerably from those of the Shuswap and other neighbors. A roof of radiating poles is encountered here, a type of construction dominant to the south. The central posts are likewise absent. The roof is sufficiently steep so that the radiating poles maintain their positions after being anchored in the ground and tied to the hatchway frame. The foundation poles are spaced about four feet at the base. These are crossed by horizontal purlins or hoops, both inside and out. Then stub rafters are placed and covering material added.

In the western half of the American Plateau (Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Tenino, Wishram, Klamath[7]) the circular pit with a conical roof of radiating poles is universal. The central posts vary in number (Sanpoil: one; Tenino, Klamath: four) or may be absent entirely (Sanpoil), as in the Lakes house. The Klamath lodge is the most specialized. It is provided with an elongated hatchway supported by four vertical posts and four rafters. The result is a wedge shaped appearance. This method of constructing the framework is reminiscent of the northwestern Plateau; the wedge shape parallels that of the Lillooet. But an equally intimate similarity is found much nearer by, in northern and central California. Central posts, rafters, and the wedge shape are all present south of the Klamath. However, the particular combination effected by the Klamath is more closely approached in the north than anywhere in California, unless it be by the adjacent Modoc. The use of rafters is definitely absent from the Canadian line southward to the Klamath.

An essentially distinct type of earth lodge may be represented by the square pit of the Kittitas, Wenatchi, and Southern Okanogan. In all cases this lodge is supplementary to that built with a round pit. It may be nothing more than the tendency toward squareness, as in the Lillooet house, carried to the extreme. On the other hand, the four rafter foundation, which predisposes toward a square pit, is lacking in at least all recent forms. This, together with the restricted local distribution, suggests a development on the spot.

The opening at the side or edge is another new feature encountered in the square earth lodge; an entry at top center is never used. But the side entrance is not limited to the square lodge; it is utilized with the round pit by the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino, and

[7] Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 202 f.

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342 Nez Percé. Only among the Wenatchi and Kittitas is this the exclusive type; all others use the center hatchway for circular pit dwellings as well, despite Teit's declaration to the contrary.[8]

The side entrance is limited, among the Sanpoil and Nez Percé, to another lodge type, a pit with a flat roof. As built by the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, this lodge consists of a circular pit, flat roof, side entrance, and serves as a secondary type of dwelling. The Nez Percé, however, use this lodge only as a sudatory or for menstrual isolation. It is the only earth lodge known to the Nez Percé.[9]

The side entrance is unquestionably characteristic of the American Plateau as opposed to the exclusive use of the top central opening in the Canadian area. But the side entrance finds widespread utilization in California and again in Alaska, and the central hatchway is known from Siberia to the American Southwest. The local relationship of the two forms would be simplified if the side opening were associated only with the flat roof. It is better adapted to such a roof than is a central entry. But the Wenatchi and Kittitas, who lack the flat roof type, utilize the side opening exclusively for their conical roofed lodges. Hence we may be dealing with an architectural specialization locally developed.

Other local variations in the south central Plateau, particularly the flat roof and simple conical roof of radiating poles, appear as imperfect imitations of outside types or deteriorated examples of older types. The hip rafter foundation and the sloping roof are structurally far superior to the radiating pole foundation and the flat roof. Yet the superior types are found consistently in the north, and again in the extreme south. Suggestive of the possibly older type are the four central posts, maintained, for example, by the Tenino.

It may well be that these less satisfactory forms have become so only very recently. In British Columbia the earth lodge continued in use until late in the last century. On the American side, in contrast, it was going out of existence before the whites entered the scene. The consistent native comment is that the earth lodge was the "old type" of dwelling, at one time the exclusive winter habitat. Gradually, over a long period, it is explained, the earth lodge was supplanted by the mat covered dwelling, so the latter was in virtually exclusive use in the late nineteenth century. As the earth lodge became more and more obsolete, it seems reasonable that it would have been made with less

[8] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 227, 331.
[9] Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

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and less care. The reason for this transition is problematical. It may have been associated with the coming of the horse and the greater mobility, even in wintertime, thus made possible. The winter mat lodge is designed as a stationary structure, but can be moved, and is characteristically re-erected each year. The earth lodge requires maintenance of residence in the same spot each winter if it is to be utilized.

Mat Lodges

The mat lodges of the Plateau fall naturally into groups based on ground plans and cross-sections. Other features are less definitive, both as to type and distribution. Framework, for example, varies in many respects, of which only a few are fundamental; most of these variations are local. The covering, on the other hand, is similar over the entire area. The mats are of rushes which are usually sewn, but sometimes twined or partly twined. Cattail or tule is used depending largely upon availability; tule is the more widespread. Grass mats are occasionally used by the Shuswap.

The ground plan has three essential variants: (1) rectangular; (2) parallel sides with rounded ends; (3) rectangular with one end rounded. Associated with any one of these plans may be either of the two cross-section types: inverted-V, and gabled with vertical walls. (The other logical variation, shed roof, is not found.) Specific combinations of plan and section present fairly exclusive distributions.

The Canadian area, excepting the Lakes, is characterized by the lodge of rectangular plan and inverted-V section, or wedge shape. The side walls slope from ridge to ground; the ends are vertical. Other shapes are not unknown, especially among the Carrier, where historic time has seen importations from all directions. Thus the vertical side wall with gable roof is found there, and the possibly related plank house of the same shape. The Northwest Coast origin of these innovations is obvious.

The great bulk of the American Plateau, together with the Lakes, utilize an inverted-V section with both ends rounded to form half-circles. These ends are constructed by placing radiating poles from the end of the ridge to an arc on the ground. A second type found in this area, but with a more restricted distribution, is logically intermediate between the rectangular plan and that with rounded ends. One end is rounded, the other square. This variant has a narrow distribution in the south central Plateau (Yakima, Columbia?).

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342 A structure with plan and section identical to the last is found far north among the Carrier. This might be dismissed as an independent variation upon the rectangular plan, were it not for another feature which likewise duplicates southern practice. The rounded end is sepa-

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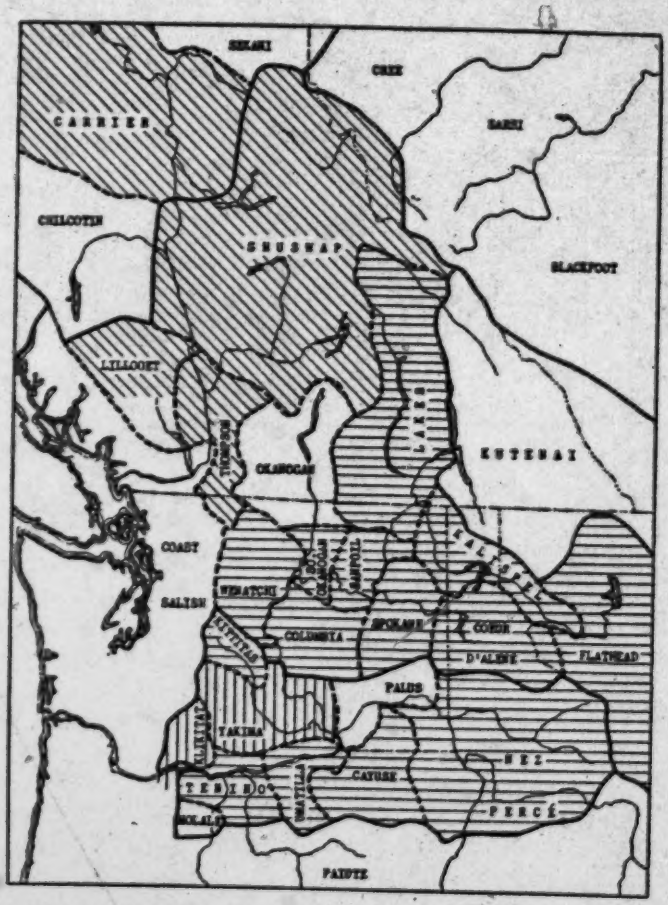

MAP. 19. Mat lodges. *Diagonal hatching:* inverted-V section, rectangular plan; *horizontal hatching:* inverted-V section, plan with parallel sides and rounded ends; *vertical hatching:* vertical walls, gable roof.

342 rated from the main body of the house by a partition directly below the end of the ridge, making the room itself rectangular in plan. A door is provided in the middle of this wall and another in the rounded outside wall directly opposite. Two compartments are thus formed, one on

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either side of the entrance aisle connecting the doors. These quarter-circle areas are used for storage, as dog kennels, and the like. The partition and double doors are very effective in keeping out the cold. In both areas the arrangements and explanations as to function are identical. In the south the end compartment is not limited to houses with one end rounded. The same arrangement is found in one or both ends of houses with double rounding. The Carrier lodge differs in certain other aspects of construction, as might be expected. Rafter struts are used and the covering is of bark, brush, poles, etc.[10] Whether these geographically remote examples are genetically related, remains to be answered. A general relation seems reasonable in view of the continuous distribution of the wedge shaped dwelling but the specific features of rounding and compartments demand further study.

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Still another type appears with the Yakima, Klikitat, and Wishram.[11] This is the structure with vertical walls and gable roof. The plank house of the Coast was once common among the Wishram and even farther up the Columbia River. It can hardly be doubted that the present form of the mat house is derived from these earlier plank structures. But the Yakima houses, at least, have the further feature of rounded ends. This indicates a combination of two discrete types.

The Klamath mat lodge is a somewhat circular structure built essentially upon the plan of the earth lodge. Conical mat lodges are common throughout most of the Plateau, but the Klamath structure is something more than that. Of especial interest is the fact that a mat is sometimes hung inside the structure so that a sort of partition is formed between the main portion of the house and rounded end. Since the occupants are thus protected from the outside doorway, it functions like the central Plateau or Carrier partition.[12]

The rounded ends of the mat house of the southern Plateau may hold the secret to the history of these structures. Several interpretations are possible. This type may be the rectangular lodge with radiating poles added at the ends to form the compartments and protect the occupants. Or more fundamentally, a structural limitation may be involved. With a ridge pole in place, side poles may be leaned against it with ease, and may be made fast with but little tying. To construct vertical end walls is somewhat more difficult and involves a different principle.

[10] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 189 ff.
[11] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*
[12] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 202.

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342 If, instead, the side wall pattern of sloping poles is maintained, the end becomes rounded automatically. Finally, the structure may be essentially the expanded tipi. If a tipi be divided vertically in halves and spread, a lodge with parallel sides and rounded ends is automatically obtained. The principal argument in favor of this interpretation is present day practice of the Flathead. To form their "long house" they erect two tipi frames at the proper distance, set a ridge pole from one to the other, add intermediate poles, and place the covering. Against this interpretation are several technical aspects of construction. The typical lodge of the Plateau is not, in fact, two tipis with connecting poles.

So much for the possibilities. The final answer must be based upon the examination of many more details of construction than those presented here, and the consideration of forms over a greater area than the Plateau alone.

BOATS AND CANOES

501 Canoes of the dugout type occur in all parts of the Plateau except among the Flathead. In the Flathead area only the bark canoe, in the west, and the bull boat, in the east, are known. In the northern part of the Plateau the dugout is of distinctly secondary importance, with the bark canoe in first place. The Shuswap and Chilcotin say that the dugout is recent, or at least that it was rare before the coming of metal tools. But all are acquainted with methods of hollowing by burning, except the Kutenai. Hence it seems unlikely that metal tools effected a wholly novel innovation, but rather that they merely increased the use of dugouts. The bark canoes continued to hold first place; the appearance is not that of the introduction of a whole new complex. Teit has asserted that dugout canoes were unknown to the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Kalispel, and Sanpoil.[13] This is explicitly and consistently denied today by informants from all these groups. They have no difficulty in providing information as to ancient techniques; the descriptions are technically plausible and fit into the regional pattern. As far as the Sanpoil are concerned, Teit's information is unquestionably in error. They not only had dugouts but used them extensively. Furthermore, the types built were quite specialized; one was a shovel-nose type with flat, projecting prow and stern; the other was provided with a sharp bow and stern.[14]

Olson has classified the canoes of the Northwest into three types of a general nature.

[13] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 108, 248, 350. [14] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 118 f.

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The "shovel-nose" pattern is characterized by rounded prow and stern, sloping upward to a squared end, with a straight gunwale line from prow to stern, and the absence of separate bow and stern pieces. The Nutka or "Chinook" type is pointed at both ends, the bow projects upward and forward and, except on small canoes, is a separate piece. The stern is vertical and raised above the level of the gunwales, the upper portion in all larger canoes being a separate piece. The cross-section is angular, the bottom being almost flat. The Northern canoe is characterized by raised and projecting bow and stern formed of separate pieces, by the vertical cut-water, and by the rounded cross-section.[15]

Of these only the first two appear in the Plateau. The shovel-nose is quite general in distribution, but the Nutka canoe is known only on the Fraser River among the Salish. Olson states that it is probably shared by the Carrier and Chilcotin but this is denied by informants of these groups. Even the Shuswap deny it today, although they are aware of its use lower on the river. Perhaps I interpret Olson's criteria more strictly than he intended, for he cites Morice as his source for attributing the Nutka canoe to the Carrier.[16] The canoe described and figured by Morice is a type quite widely used throughout the Plateau, but hardly conforms to the description for the Nutka form. The stern is not vertical, the cross-section is not angular, and the bow and stern are not provided with separate, raised pieces.[17]

This type may be described as rounded in cross-section, keel line straight amidships but curving gradually upward at bow and stern; the cutwater and stern are somewhat sharpened; the gunwale line is slightly higher at bow and stern than amidships. I have called this the sharp nosed canoe in describing the Sanpoil variant. The type is utilized by the Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Lillooet, Chicotin, Carrier, and perhaps others. The Tenino and Chilcotin substitute a rounded stern but keep the sharp bow.

Both shovel-nose and sharp nosed canoes are made of the same materials. The selection depends largely upon available wood, cedar usually being preferred and pine being last choice. The peoples of the American Plateau are forced to use pine in most cases although they obtain some cedar as driftwood. Cottonwood is frequently employed in the far north and by the Kutenai.

[15] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, p. 19; cf. Waterman and Coffin, *Types of Canoes*.
[16] Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[17] See Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 114 f.

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501 Bark canoes are utilized in all parts of the Canadian Plateau, and by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and western Flathead. Two highly distinctive types are found, with a third intermediate

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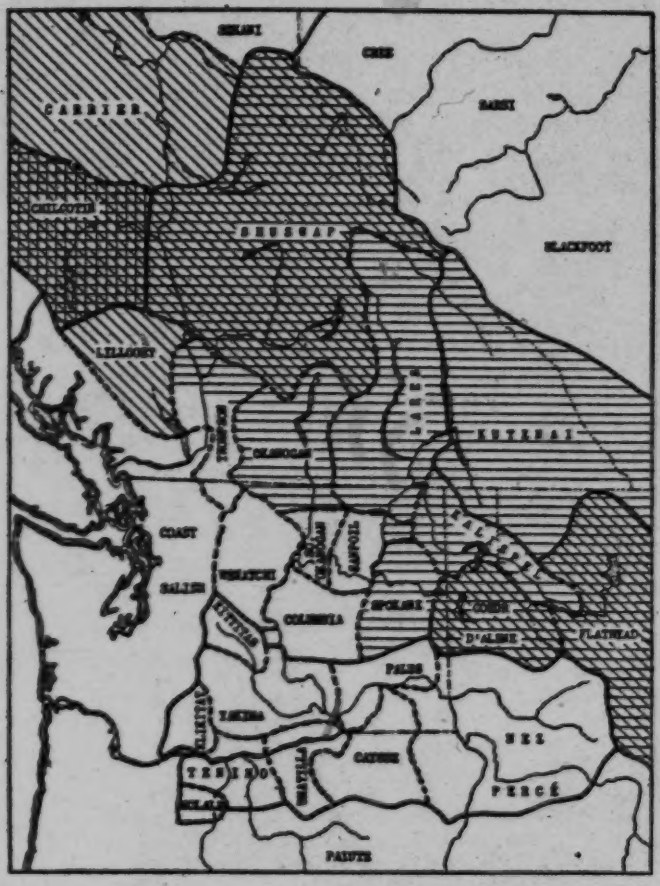

MAP 20. Bark canoes. *Diagonal hatching:* undercut bow and stern; *horizontal hatching:* sturgeon-nose type; *vertical hatching:* vertical bow and stern.

501 form. One is the sturgeon-nose type; another has undercut bow and stern; in the third form the bow and stern are vertical.

The sturgeon-nose canoe is pointed under the water line at both bow and stern. The existence of this type among the Kutenai was pointed out years ago by Mason, at which time he called attention to

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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the parallel with the canoes of the Amur in eastern Asia.[18] In addition to the Kutenai, these are used by the Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Colville, Lakes, Okanogan, Upper Thompson, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[19] They are most extensively employed in the immediate vicinity of the Lakes and Kutenai. This distribution is probably exhaustive; it extends continuously in a broad area from the Chilcotin adjacent to the Coast to the Flathead bordering on the Plains.

At the two ends of this area appears the second type, with bow and stern curving upward. On the west it is common to the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet, and finds a slight utilization among the Shuswap. On the east it is shared only by the western Flathead and the Coeur d'Alêne. The third type, characterized by vertical prow and stern, is unique to the Chilcotin. Its occurrence at this point is extremely provocative both because of the extreme western location and the fact that the Chilcotin also possess the other two forms. The three forms in association suggest the possibility of a transition from one form to the other having been made here. If so, the transition must have been from the sturgeon-nose to the undercut type, with diffusion of the latter to the adjacent peoples followed by its extensive utilization and the gradual discarding of the earlier type. This would assume the absence of the bark canoe in the Carrier and Lillooet areas, and the presence of the sturgeon-nose variety among the Shuswap and Chilcotin. The undercut type is the only one known to the Carrier and Lillooet. The other fact requiring this order, granting the transition, is that the area of intensive use of the sturgeon-nose is far to the east. Such a history would conform with Teit's theory that the sturgeon-nose is the older type in the region.[20]

However, it seems far more likely that the vertical ends are merely a compromise in the presence of the two other forms; the result of an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to combine the two types. As such it would have no large historical significance, at least so long as the form remains local. It is true such a combination has not occurred in the other areas in which the two primary forms overlap. But it must be emphasized that the vertical bow is functionally very unsatisfactory, and would hardly persist, even though discovered among a people with

[18] Mason, *Pointed Bark Canoes*.

[19] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 531; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 255; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, *loc. cit.*; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

[20] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.

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501 finely made canoes of extensive utilization. The Chilcotin, on the other hand, are poor canoe makers at best. They waiver from one type to another, including the dugout. The bark canoe with vertical ends is more easily and quickly made than the other types. And, perhaps, not being deeply immersed in a particular tradition, they feel free to experiment with all.

Teit suggests that the undercut bark canoe of the Flathead is very late in time, being an innovation by Iroquois who settled among the Flathead as employes of the fur traders.[21] This interpretation is supported by the very narrow local distribution of the type. More extensive inquiry might make a definitive answer possible, but the larger problem can only be settled when sufficient data are available for an exhaustive comparison of the structural details of eastern and western examples.

The Kutenai and Flathead share the Plains bull boat, and the Klikitat use hides over a frame of uncertain form. The Kutenai and Flathead bull boats are makeshift affairs used for transporting goods or children. No frame is used. Parfleches (rawhide envelopes) are laced together around the paraphernalia to be transported. If necessary, brush is added for additional buoyancy. The Flathead boat is usually pulled by a horse, but among the Kutenai a swimmer tows the burden.

"Rafts of tule" are mentioned by Teit for the Spokane and their neighbors to the east.[22] The Kalispel sometimes bind tule mats on the outside of a bark canoe to increase the buoyancy. Rafts of logs are found everywhere except among the Klamath, Wishram, Klikitat, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.

[21] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.
[22] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 248, 350.

CONCLUSION

Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial. 105 177

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

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105 177 The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

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area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

[1] Jenness, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

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in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsman around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[3]

[3] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted. 105 177

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.

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NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

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101 173 175 abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[3]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

115 Ray, "Sanpöil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English: her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[3] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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101 very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise
173 be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[7]

121 Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to
173 handle separately data from field research and from historical
175 sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

131 The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

133 Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[7]Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

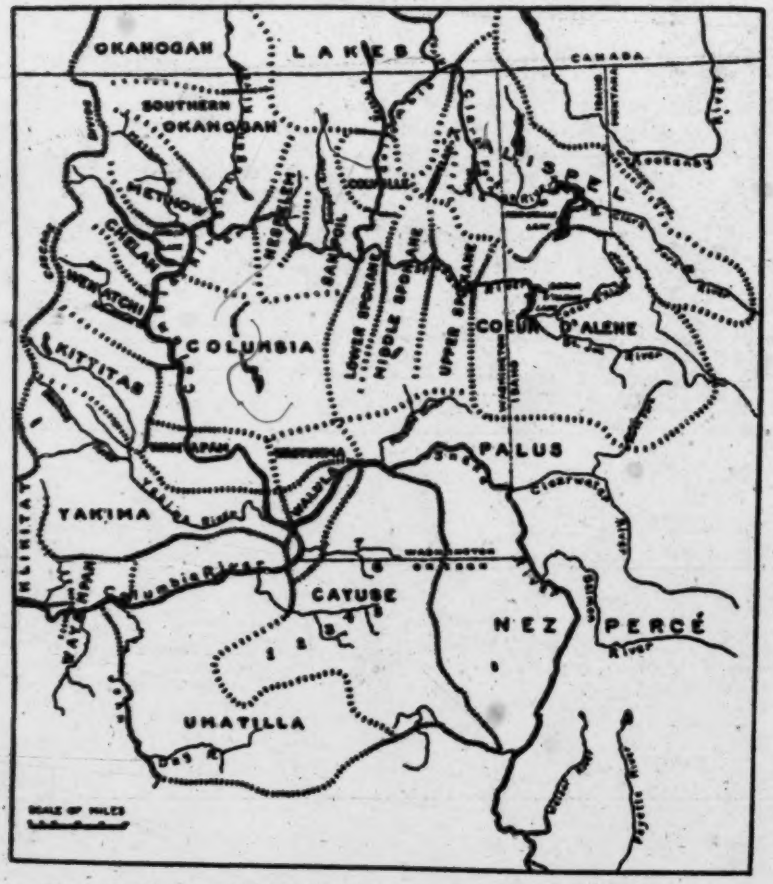

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

ley floors. Eolian hills are common in this southern region as well, since the fine dry soil is easily carried by the strong constantly blowing winds. Also, the topography of the whole Columbia Basin has been modified further by minor uplifts since the lava was laid down.

The Okanogan Highlands in the northwestern portion of the area and the Selkirk range in the northeast are spurs of the Rocky mountains consisting largely of granitic and metamorphic formations. The mountains of the Highlands, 5000 and 6000 feet in elevation, have been gently rounded by glacial action and subsequent erosion. The Selkirks, which reach somewhat greater heights, are considerably more rugged and the valleys are narrower.

The Blue mountains in northeastern Oregon are composed chiefly of basalt with islands of older granite projecting. These granitic islands or steptoes are also found in southeastern Washington. The maximum elevation in the Blue mountains is about 6,000 feet.[8]

Meteorological data pertaining to the Basin is given in accompanying table (tab. 1).[9] It will be seen that great yearly temperature ranges together with low precipitation characterize the central or relatively low lying portion of the area, whereas the peripheral regions of greater altitude show a somewhat smaller temperature range and markedly greater precipitation. The geographical center of the area is hardly two hundred and fifty miles from the Pacific Ocean with its temperate moisture-laden winds but the Cascade mountains prove so effectual a barrier that the interior is little influenced. What little moisture is carried east of the Cascade divide is precipitated mostly on the eastern slope of the mountains. Thus the Kittitas villages on the upper Yakima river were subject to a yearly precipitation of about twenty-five inches whereas Wanapam villages near the mouth of the same river enjoyed but

[8] Edwin J. Saunders, "The Physical Geography of Washington," in *Journal of Geography*, XIV, 309-22; Nevin M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York, 1931), 210-70.

[9] Information furnished by courtesy of Dr. Albert L. Seeman, Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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TABLE 1.

METEOROLOGICAL DATA FOR TYPICAL STATIONS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

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Territory	Station	Mean Monthly Temperature		Precipitation		
				Normal Monthly		Normal Annual
		July	Jan.	Nov.	Aug.	
Lakes	Revelstoke, B.C.	64	21	4.8	.6	40
Lakes	Northport, Wash.	68	23	2.3	.9	18
Lakes&Colville	Colville, Wash.	67	23	2.3	.7	16.5
Kalispel	Sandpoint, Id.	65	26	4.3	1.2	27.5
Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene, Id.	68	28	3.4	.6	25
Spokane	Spokane, Wash.	69	28	2.1	.6	16.5
Colville, Sanpoil, Lakes	Republic, Wash.	65	21	1.6	.9	15
Nespelem	Nespelem, Wash.	68	21	1.6	.5	15.5
Sanpoil	Wilbur, Wash.	66	22	1.8	.6	12.5
So. Okanogan	Omak, Wash.	74	22	1.4	.5	10.5
Chelan	Lakeside, Wash.	74	24	1.7	.3	12.5
Wenatchi	Wenatchee, Wash.	71	25	1.2	.3	9
Wenatchi	Leavenworth, Wn.	69	23	2.9	.4	20
Kittitas	Cle Elum, Wash.	65	26	4.7	.4	25.5
Kittitas	Ellensburg, Wash.	68	25	1.5	.2	9
Yakima	Rimrock, Wash.	64	26	4.2	.4	24.5
Yakima	Yakima, Wash.	71	27	.9	.2	8
Wanapam	Wahluke, Wash.	77	29	1	.3	6.5
Columbia	Ephrata, Wash.	77	25	1	.4	7.5
Palus	Hatton, Wash.	73	27	1.3	.4	9
Cayuse	Walla Walla, Wn.	74	33	2	.5	17
Umatilla	Umatilla, Ore.	75	33	1.2	.3	7.5

one-fourth that amount. Indeed within the confines of the Kittitas alone, at Ellensburg, twenty miles down-river from Cle Elum, the precipitation has dropped to less than ten inches. In Lakes territory extremes of forty inches at Revelstoke, B. C. (village no. 24) and sixteen and one-half inches at Colville, Washington (near villages nos. 1-4, 43) are found. In contrast to these variations is the relatively uniform annual precipitation of twenty-four to twenty-eight inches throughout most of the territory of the Coeur d'Alene and the Kalispel. A few Coeur d'Alene villages near Spokane received but fifteen inches. More striking is the meager six to fourteen inches noted throughout most of the territory of the Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Chelan, Columbia, Wanapam, Walula, Palus, Umatilla and Cayuse. A considerable amount of this precipitation falls in the form of snow which usually remains on the ground throughout the winter. Precipitation of

132 ten inches or less may be classed as definitely arid, making for desert conditions.

Temperatures throughout the Columbia Basin are much more uniform, month for month, than precipitation. Characterizing the whole area, however, are extreme ranges from summer maximums to winter minimums. "The average annual range is between 40 and 50 degrees F. with winter temperatures about 20 to 30 degrees F. and summer temperatures from 65 to 80 degrees F. The extreme range for any one station is 140 degrees F. but temperatures as low as -36 degrees F. and as high as 115 degrees F. have been recorded at different stations. Temperatures as low as -20 degrees F. and as high as 100 degrees F. are common, but the cold and warm spells are of short duration and are not felt as much as the figures might indicate on account of the low humidity of the air."[10]

137 Four plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran, the Arid Transition, the Canadian and the Hudsonian, are represented in this area. Of these the first two are by far the most extensive and nearly all native villages were located in these zones. Hunting and gathering territories, however, extended into the Canadian and Hudsonian especially in peripheral regions. The Upper Sonoran is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau, while the Arid Transition characterizes the lower reaches of the surrounding mountains. Higher in the mountains is found the Canadian zone and more rarely the Hudsonian. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran in this region is the sagebrush *(Artemisia tridentata)*. Other prominent plants include rabbit brush *(Chrysothamnus nauseosus)*, antelope brush *(Purshia tridentata)* and dragon sagewort *(Artemisia dracunculus)*. The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass *(Agropyron spicatum)* and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine *(Pinus ponderosa)* forests. The bunchgrass prairies occupy narrow marginal strips near the mountains and shade into the pine forests as soon as the elevation becomes noticeable. The Cana-

[10]Saunders, 321.

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dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[12]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[11] Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[12] Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

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The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

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Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Columbia Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish": James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

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unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

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619 any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[20] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[21]

361 619 This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[20] Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[21] The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

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East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

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[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.
[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.
[24] *Ibid.*, 309.
[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.
[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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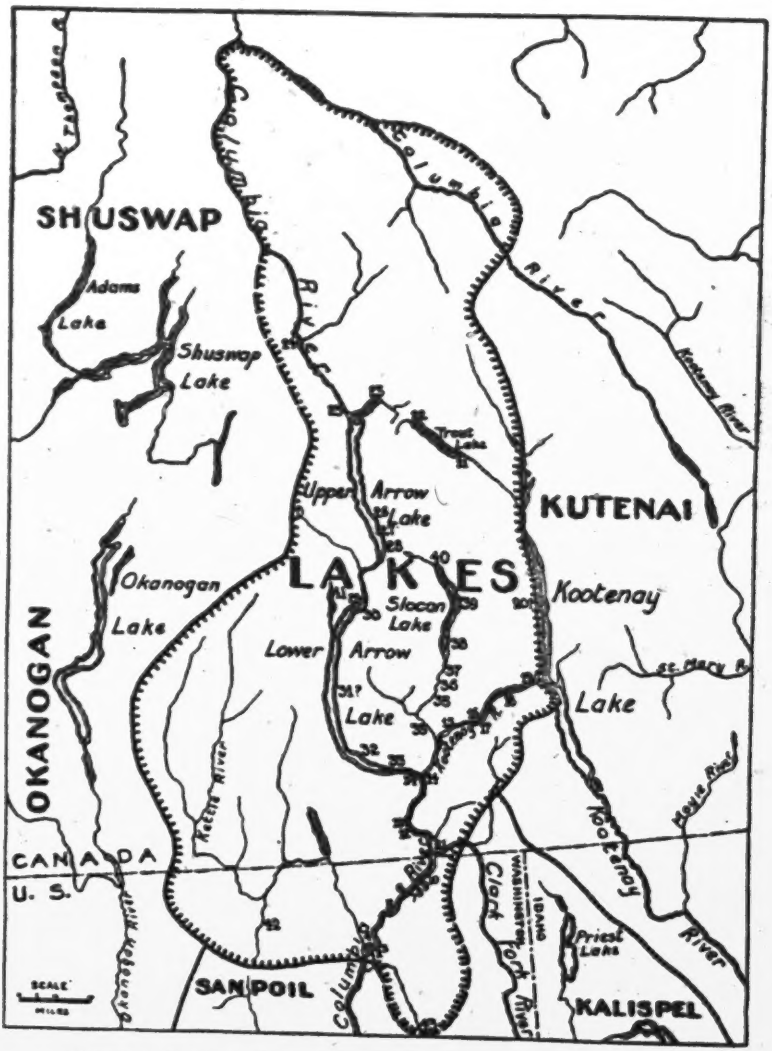

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[37] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[38] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[39] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[40] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[37] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[38] See map, fig. 2.
[39] Kroeber, 14.
[40] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

103 619 we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these 186 197 619 social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

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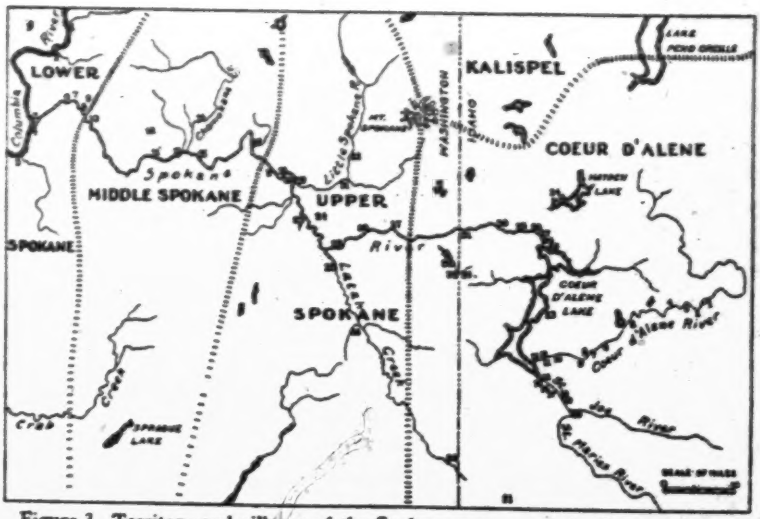

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

591 619 Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

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relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33]This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

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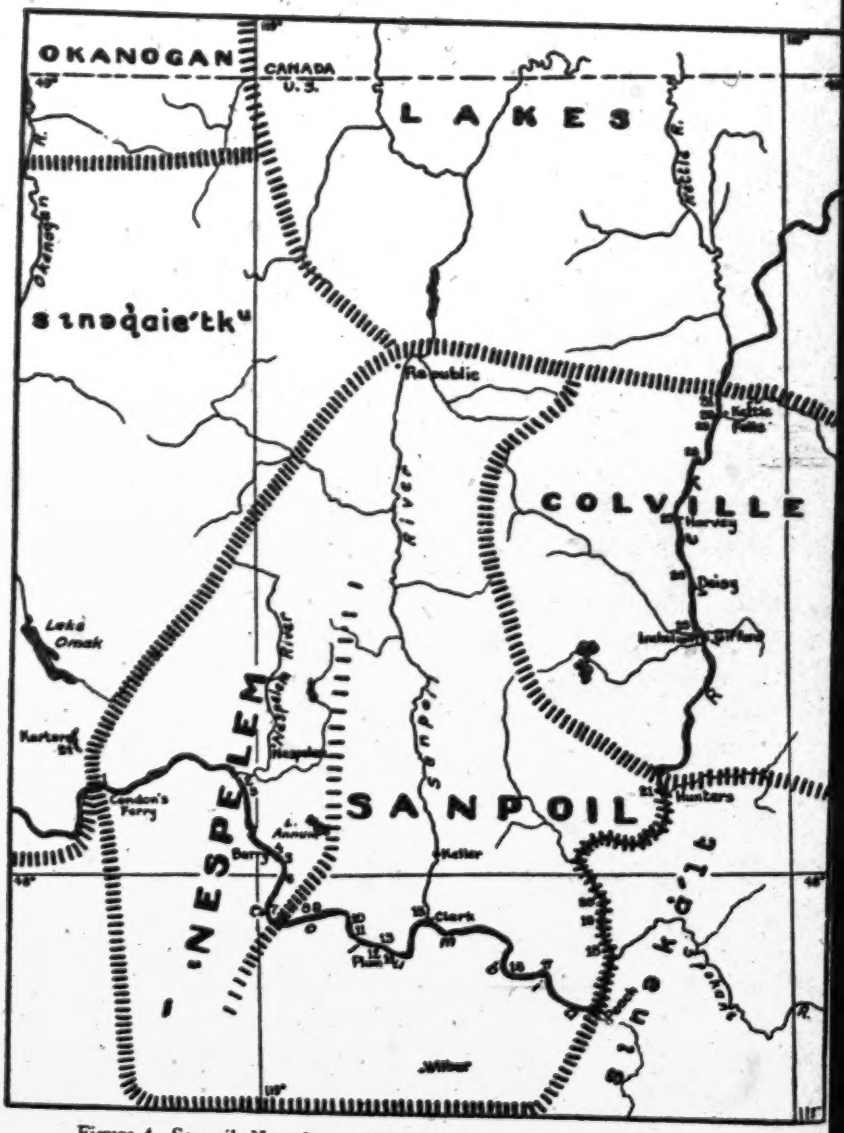

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

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The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

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609 619 sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

103 The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

101 Following are notes relating to specific groups:

487 Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

194 [38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqálıspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, słate 'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: snəkä'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqäsi'tni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tł', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

101 "Upper Spokan" for those of the Little Spokane river valley and eastward.[43] These are unfortunate confusions; local usage in no way conforms. The Middle Spokane are the peoples of the middle Spokane river country and the Upper Spokane are those of the upper Spokane river country, the territories in each case extending for considerable distances both north and south of the river. Thus "upper" refers to upriver, not "upper" in the sense of north on our maps or somewhat higher in altitude. Teit's alternative terms of "Little Spokan" for the Little Spokane river valley peoples and "South Spokan" for those of the Latah valley are not objectionable except that they suggest a greater demarcation between these groups than existed.

Upper Spokane: snxwəmɛ'ne, "people of steelhead trout place" (from village name, nxwəmɛ'ne, village no. 20). See map, fig. 3. See Middle Spokane.

Nespelem: snspi·'lux^{u}, "prairie people, Nespelem people" (from village name, nspi·'ləm, no. 2). See map, fig. 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Sanpoil: snpui·'lux^{u}, "people of the gray country" (from village name, npui·'lux^{u}, no. 15). See map, fig. 4. See Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Southern Okanogan: also called the Sinkaietk; snəq'aie'tk^{u}, (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. The southern boundary of this group is the least definite. A partial explanation is that the country south of the portion of the Columbia river on which Southern Okanogan villages were located is a vast desert waste, virtually unclaimed. More complete and definite information on boundaries and villages of this group will be available with the publication of Miss Velpha Walters' work (see footnote 34).

Colville: sxoie'ɬp^{u} (group name). See maps, figs. 1, 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," and Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

101 622 Chelan: tcɪtlă'n (group name). See map, fig. 5. The Chelan mixed freely with the Wenatchi, sharing at least one village (Chelan no. 1, Wenatchi no. 5) and using the upper Wenatchee river for salmon fishing. Informants declared, however, that one Chelan chief held more or less power over all Chelan villages.

101 Wenatchi: wɪnă'ca, "waters (large stream) flowing out" (Sahaptin word), npskwa'us (Salish [Wenatchi] name; group name?). See map, fig. 5.

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Columbia: nkɔ'eu's (group name). See map, figs. 1, 5. For further information consult Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish."

Kittitas: also called Ellensburg; pcwa'nwapam, "rock people" (from dialect name). See map, fig. 5.

Yakima: ya'kamə, "pregnant ones" (group name ?). See map, fig. 5.

Klikitat: x̣wa'l̓x̣waipam (group name from dialect name, "Klikitat-speaking people"). See map, fig. 5. The word Klikitat is derived from a village name, xla'tixat, no. 1. The Klikitat shared hunting and gathering territories with the Wishram, White Salmon and Wayampam peoples who lived immediately south of them on the Columbia river. Klikitat territory on the west extended to the headwaters of the Lewis river.

Wayampam: waya'mpam (group name from dialect [?] name). See map, fig. 5. The Wayampam southern boundary is not yet known with any certainty.

Umatilla: yumati'la (from village name, i'matɬam, "lots of rocks," no. 1). See maps, figs. 1, 5. The highly irregular boundary was a concession to geographical conditions which would be quite apparent in a relief map. There seems to have been a greater concentration of population around one point among the Umatilla than anywhere else in the Columbia Basin, area for area.

Wanapam: wa'napam (from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 5. Teit assigns the Priest Rapids region to the Columbia[42] but the Wanapam now living there claim always to have held it. The actual boundaries, however, are still very much in doubt.

Wauyukma: wauyuk'ma', "old salmon trap [mythological reference]" (village name). This probably was but a single village together with its hunting and gathering territory.

Cayuse: waie·ɬtpu (group name from dialect name ?). See map, fig. 1.

Walula: also called Walla Walla; walu'la (group name). See map, fig. 1.

Palus: palu·'s (group name). See map, fig. 1. The eastern boundary of the Palus is not yet known.

[42]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 73.

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LAKES VILLAGES

103 1. npəpkolá't'skin ("place where many pəpkolit's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten [524] camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

[438] After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kɪxkɪ'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolá't'skɪn (1).

3. nt'sɪlt'sɪli'tk[48] ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[48]

4. ɪtstlɪktst'cɪn ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sɪntkɪlxuwe'ltɪn ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tlitlko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[48]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

7. stce'xələkᵘ.

On the Columbia below Northport. (T no. 22)[44] 103

8. ntsətserri'sem.[45]

At or very near Northport. (T no. 21)

9. sɪnqi'lt ("above country," "on an elevation").

A settlement at the present site of Northport; formerly the home of the Lakes chief. (E)

10. sn'ȧkewi'lten ("portage").

An encampment at Northport. (E)

11. nquli'la'.

This village, located on the Columbia river about a mile above the present village of Waneta, numbered four or five families throughout the year. The berry fields and salmon grounds of Northport were conveniently near at hand.

12. tcɯlxi·'t'sȧ.

This camp was located on the west side of the Columbia river at the site of the present town of Trail. Hunters used the site for a few days at a time as a base for deer hunting.

13. snskəkəle'um.

At a creek on the west side of the Columbia river close to Trail. (T no. 10)

14. kupi'tlks ("rubbing the chest").

This was a settlement at the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia rivers, used as a temporary base for root digging. Travelers coming or going from the Kootenay or upper Columbia river valleys usually camped here for a week or two, visiting and gambling with friends and using the sweat houses. To a limited extent it also served as a hunting base. 103 524

15. ntɪkuli'tkᵘ ("much river food").

This encampment was on the north side of the Kootenay river about a mile above the mouth of the Slocan (slo'kȧn) river. Trout pools were numerous in the river at this point making it a popular fishing center. Women used the site as a base for berry picking while men found it convenient for hunting bear. Parties usually stayed 103

[44] This, and following references in similar form, are to be read as Teit, "Salishan Tribes," village no. 22 of the group under consideration.

[45] Teit, Reichard and Elmendorf have all recorded the *r* sound in Interior Salish, yet it probably is not present. It much more likely is the voiced velar spirant represented in the transcription as Greek gamma with subscript period. The gamma is used here without the period because of printing limitations.

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here a week or t[illegible] often during April just before the river began to rise. Later they moved to the north for caribou hunting, some travelling Slocan river route, some choosing the Kootenay river.

16. nxa·xa'tsən ("cave in the rocks").

This camp was the Kootenay river, opposite Nelson, at the edge of the caribou hunting area. Line fishing for trout was also profitable here.

17. k'iyȧ'mlupᵃ (Kutenai word?).

A settlement at the site of the present town of Nelson.

18. yakskukəni" ("where many kukeni" [a small red fish] are found").

Located about six or seven miles above Nelson on the Kootenay river. Root gathering, bear and caribou hunting and trout fishing were all profitable.

19. ktca'ukuł ("spliced trousers").

This encampment was near the present town of Balfour (?) on Kootenay lake. It was used as a temporary base during May and June.

20. na·xspoȧ'lk'en ("rocky bank made by spoȧ'lk'en [mythological character]").

On the west shore of upper Kootenay lake, exact location uncertain. Temporary camp.

21. sia'uks qa·li'su ("where the water flows outward" probably referring to the drainage of Trout lake into Kootenay lake).

This was a caribou hunting and fishing camp located at the lower end of Trout lake at the site of the present town of Gerrard. Drying racks for fish were erected here and travellers sometimes remained for several weeks.

22. sɑnpətł'me·'p ("upper end of lake").

This encampment at the upper end of Trout lake was at the site of the present Trout Lake City. From here a portage usually was made to the end of Upper Arrow lake.

23. nk'umȧ'puluks ("end of the water").

This important camp was situated at the uppermost end of Upper Arrow lake near the site of the present town Compalix. It was a popular meeting place and a productive fishing, hunting, and berrying center. The camp was most populous in May and June.

24. skəxi'kəntən.

A settlement opposite Revelstoke. (T no. 1)

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25. kospi'tsa ("buffalo robe").
At the site of the present town of Arrowhead. (T no. 3)

26. kn'sxana'ka.
On Upper Arrow lake, now called Kooskanax. (T no. 4)

27. nequ'sp ("having buffalo").
Now called Nakusp. (T no. 5)

28. tci'uken.
A little below Nakusp. (T no. 6)

29. snexai'tsatsam.
Near the upper end of Lower Arrow lake, opposite Burton City. (T no. 7)

30. xaie'kan.
At a creek below Burton City. (T no. 8)

31. mamatsi'ntan ("log leaning outside a cave").
A village on Lower Arrow lake, exact location uncertain. It was a center for hunting mountain goat in March and April.

32. plu'me'.
This was a temporary camp on the east side of Lower Arrow lake near the site of the present Deer Park. It marked the lower end of the hunting and fishing territory.

33. sm·a'ip' ("large log leaning against a tree").
A temporary camping place at the foot of Lower Arrow lake.

34. A settlement at the site of the present town of Castlegar, near the fork of the Kootenay river and Lower Arrow lake, was important for both spear and line fishing. There was a rapids here, which aided the fisherman.

35. sketu'kalôx.
On lower Slocan river. (T no. 17)

36. nkwcio'xtan.
On Slocan river above no. 35. (T no. 16)

37. ka·ntca·'k.
On Slocan river below the lake. (T no. 15)

38. sihwi·'lax.
On the lower part of Slocan lake. (T no. 14)

39. takalaxaitcakst ("trout ascend"?)
On Slocan lake, below no. 40. (T no. 13)

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40. snkami'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'maltam.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtɬu'stəm ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwa'rəxəm ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'tcu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

[622] A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'x̣'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kanə" ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

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6. nye·'yot.

A village at the place now called Indian creek on the Clark Fork river about nine miles below Newport. (T, p. 313) 103

7. st'sa·'xolª ("gravelly place").

This was a permanent village located on the north side of Clark Fork river at the site of the present town of Furport. Population, fifty persons.

8. sxwe'uwi" ("portage around the falls").

This was a fall fishing grounds and a winter hunting base located where Albany Falls, Idaho, is now found. Population, approximately fifty.

9. tci'iu" (refers to face paint).

This winter village was located on Clark Fork river just above the mouth of Priest river. Excellent fishing and hunting was available nearby. From here a trail led to Priest lake where beaver and martin were plentiful. Winter population, 100 or more; summer, a few families.

10. sn·'k'ulti·'n ("ford").

Both sides of Clark Fork river at the present site of Laclede was the location of this village. It was a fishing and trapping center occupied by about fifty persons throughout the year.

11. qapqape' ("sand").

A village near the present town of Sand Point. (T, p. 313)

12. n·tcamutsi' ("mouth of many streams").

The mouth of Clark Fork river at Pend Oreille lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement noted for its fishing grounds. The islands nearby were used as burial grounds. Population, 300-400.

13. m·ce'dncem ("rocky stream").

This winter village was located on the Thompson river about three miles above the mouth. Summer residents of village no. 10 often wintered at this location. Population, 300-400.

14. tca·luqwe'ul ("meadow or small prairie").

This was the easternmost Kalispel village, located at the site of the present town of Paradise, Montana. It was popular as a winter residence on account of the very slight snowfall. Population, 100 or more.

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COEUR D'ALENE VILLAGES

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1. sqwatu·'tume ("small sharp-peaked mountain").

   This village, located at the site now called Cataldo, Idaho, was the uppermost Coeur d'Alene village on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was occupied throughout the year by 100 or more people, including the principal chief.

   Cataldo, the present town, was named for Father Cataldo but the Cataldo mission, established in 1853, was about fourteen miles northwest of here.

2. nalstqā'txwən.

   Located a little below no. 1. (T no. 10, Coeur d'Alene river division, p. 39)

3. səncā'ləmānts.

   A short distance below no. 2. (T no. 9, *idem*)

4. nsɛ·lut'.

   This year round settlement of about 40 people was situated at Old Mission near Roselake.

5. A small camp of perhaps fifteen persons was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at the present site of Lane. The native name was not remembered by my informant.

6. səma'qwəq'ən ("a small mountain on top of another").

   This camp of about fifteen persons occupied a site on the Coeur d'Alene river now called Medimont.

7. qoqole'tēlps ("black pines").

   A little above no. 8. (T no. 6, *idem*)

8. nəst'à·'kwə'st.

   This camp was located on the Coeur d'Alene river at Blue Lake (about a mile and a half below Medimont). It was very small, numbering two or three families or perhaps fifteen individuals.

9. dɛ'ltalpˢ ("a large clump of cottonwoods").

   Midway between Medimont and Harrison, on the Coeur d'Alene river, was located this camp of about twenty-five people.

10. nɛ'atxa'xstəm.

    A settlement a little above Harrison. (T no. 4, *idem*)

11. ălkwa"ɣɪ"ɪt.

    This village occupied the site of the present town of Harrison on the Coeur d'Alene river. It was a center of considerable importance, occupied the year around by about sixty persons.

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12. gwa'lit.
Near the lakes and close to Harrison. (T no. 2, *idem*)

13. tcin'tcalx^{w}.
On Coeur d'Alene lake, close to the mouth of Coeur d'Alene river. (T no. 1, *idem*)

14. toēti'ctacacaq.
A settlement near the mouth of the St. Joe river. (T no. 2, p. 38)

15. tcami"was ("narrow peninsula between lake and river").
This camp, on the St. Joe river near the present site of Chatcolet, was occupied all year by about thirty people.

16. stcicá'tat ("creek enters river").
This was an all year settlement on the south side of the river about one mile above Chatcolet. The population ranged around forty persons.

17. stclalıdcake·tan ("precipitous stream enters the river").
This was a one family camp on the St. Joe river near Benewah lake (about two miles above no. 16). It was occupied throughout the year.

18. st'u'tsta'wa's'.
This large village was situated about a mile upriver from no. 17. It had a permanent population of about 100 persons, including the principal chief of the St. Joe river villages.

19. tcat'owa'calqs (T no. 4, p. 38)
This village occupied a site on the St. Joe river about two and one-half miles above no. 18. About sixty persons made this their home.

20. ntcámtsan ("confluence").
At the site now occupied by the town of St. Maries (the confluence of the St. Maries and the St. Joe rivers) was located this village. It was the furthest upriver village and thus an important base for hunting parties. About eighty persons lived here.

21. ni'luxwa'l'q^{w} ("spring in the timber").
This was a summer settlement of great importance in the open wooded country about a mile south of Desmet, Idaho, near the St. Joe forest. It was most populous during June and July at which time most of the Coeur d'Alene peoples gathered here for digging roots, particularly camas. The "first roots" ceremony was held here. Visitors from Spokane, Sanpoil, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Yakima were numerous. A few persons remained here all winter.

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22. nɬpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcêlä'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xant'a·"qan' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'amki'nkwɪ' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

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26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənê'ɬpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rapt.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·lm ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'ɬpanc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'lc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

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33. tcana:'kwaqan ("two inlets at an angle")

A camp about two miles south of no. 32. Two or three families lived here.

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34. A one family camp was situated just east of no. 33. My informant had forgotten its name.

LOWER SPOKANE VILLAGES

1. tcuwi'cast.

This was a small winter camp of three or four families located on the east side of the Columbia river just below the mouth of Hunters creek. This creek enters the Columbia at the present town of Hunters.

2. sə'ədlə'kwetən ("where the trail meets the Columbia river").

This village of a few families was located on the east side of the Columbia river at the present village of Gerome.

3. snəka'lt ("rapids").

A site on the Columbia river just north of the mouth of the Spokane river (n·ka·'tkx^{w}) was the location of this village. It gave its name to the Lower Spokane though it was not the principal village of the group, but a settlement of medium size consisting of three or four large houses and several smaller ones.

4. tc'da"q'a.

This was a populous village situated directly across the Spokane river from no. 3, where the town of Miles is now found. (E)

5. npia'xam ("many hawks in the cliffs").

This camp was located at the confluence of the Columbia river and Hawk creek, the site now called Peach. It varied considerably in population from time to time, but never numbered more than a few lodges.

6. spə'xst ("river foam forming in eddies").

This settlement, on the north side of the Spokane river about a mile and a half below Detillion bridge (on state highway no. 22 across the Spokane river) was occupied in winter only.

7. di'a'lak'ən ("where a spring enters the river").

This was the largest camp of the Lower Spokane. It was admirably situated on the broad level bench above the north bank of the Spokane river about a mile below Detillion bridge. This site was near the river providing a readily accessible water supply and canoe landing, yet was high enough above the water level to be well drained

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and safe from flood waters. Immediately back of the village rose a range of hills which effectively protected the site from excessive winds. The river at this point was of such a character that a highly successful salmon weir-trap could be maintained throughout the salmon season, providing an abundant supply of salmon both for current consumption and drying for storage.

Visitors were numerous from all nearby points but also came in considerable numbers from such relatively distant points as the Nez Percé country. The village was most populous in summer but numbered many scores throughout the winter.

8. keyɛ'me'us.

This camp was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the present site of Detillion bridge.

9. ayasi'kən.

This was a small year round camp at a tiny lake near Detillion bridge.

MIDDLE SPOKANE VILLAGES

10. łaámə'kənɛ'seən ("head of the rapids where the water flows over").

This was a large winter camp on the north side of the river at the rapids four miles above village no. 9.

11. tcelmedl'mɛ'dlmən (probably refers to the salmon trap at this point).

This settlement, noted particularly for its salmon trap, was on the north side of the Spokane river four miles below the present Little Falls. The salmon trap attracted many people in the summer but a smaller number stayed throughout the year.

12. stca'tsuwɛca ("camping ground").

This summer camp was at the site of the present village of Wellpinit. (E) (The name Wellpinit is an adaptation of a Sahaptin word. A number of Sahaptin speaking peoples are now (1936) resident on Spokane Indian Reservation of which the headquarters are located at Wellpinit.)

13. sqàsi'łni ("fishers" from stqsqaistsɑłən, "fishery," Little Falls [E]).

This village, which gave its name to the Middle Spokane, was located on the north side of the Spokane river at the falls now known as Little Falls. This was the principal village of the Middle Spokane and the most populous. The location was an excellent one, similar in physical characteristics to the main village of the Lower Spokane. In addition the falls provided excellent spear and trap fishing for salmon.

A glacial terminal moraine formed the soil on which this village

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was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'əmqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. apɬpu'pstən· ("where pu'pstən [a grass] grows").

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nsɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɛ·nu'yulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwəmə'a'tkx^{w}, "river where the steelhead trout run").

20. nxwəmɑ'ne ("steelhead trout place")

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

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21. tcɪltcɪymu'làxᵘ ("where a creek skirts the foot of a cliff").

About eight miles up the Little Spokane river, near the mouth of Deadman creek, was located this camp, noted as a hunting and fishing grounds. The settlement was a permanent one but numbered only a few families.

22. ntcɪtcɪtɪ'nts'in ("where the creek enters the river").

This village, on the Little Spokane river near the present town of Buckeye, was a winter settlement of four or five dwellings.

23. sua'tsɪxᵘ (refers to a nest.)

This was a small autumn fishing camp and winter settlement between villages nos. 22 and 24, exact location uncertain.

24. stiuwa'tɪxᵘ ("where stiua'tɪ [a mythological bird] nested").

This was a permanent camp of medium size situated at a site about two miles north of the Spokane river where the outskirts of Spokane now lie. Little snow accumulated here, making it a popular wintering place. Recently it came to be valued as an excellent grazing place for horses.

25. sqlaxa'ɪkᵘ (refers to falls in the river).

This large permanent village was located on both sides of the Spokane river at the falls, now the center of the city of Spokane. The falls were excellent for spear and basket trap fishing, especially since they were too high for the salmon to ascend.

26. sɪmma'tculks ("place where many crows are found").

This was a site just south of what is now Hillyard, Washington, on the north side of the Spokane river. It was a village of medium size noted for fishing, hunting and grazing. Occupation was during fall and winter only.

27. sqɪmi'n'.

This was a small winter camp at the point where the railroad bridge now crosses the Spokane river north of Dishman. The camp occupied the north side of the river.

28. qu'yu ("place where Oregon grape [Western Holly, *Berberis aquifolium* Pursh.] grows").

This village was situated on Latah (Hangman) creek about a mile above the point where the highway bridge now crosses the creek. It was a populous permanent settlement valued as a salmon and trout fishing grounds and for the abundant game, including deer, antelope and beaver, which the surrounding territory provided.

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29. tcalsi'yutsu·m ("place where many woodpeckers are found").
This camp, located on Latah creek near the mouth of Rock creek, about ten miles above village no. 28, was similar in size and utilities to the latter. In the winter it was used as a base for large deer drives.

NESPELEM VILLAGES[46]

1. nəkuktc'i'ptn ("big basin"?) home of the snəkuktc'i'ptnux^{w}.
This was a summer settlement located at the site of the present Condon's Ferry on the north side of the river. This was not an exclusively Nespelem village since much of its population was made up of Southern Okanogan whose winter residence was ka·yta·' (no. 24) or elsewhere. Population, 100-150.

2. nspi·'ləm (Nespelem) ("prairie," "desert country"), home of the snspi·'lux^{w}.
This permanent settlement, the largest of the Nespelem, was situated on the lower Nespelem river from the mouth to the falls about three-quarters of a mile above. Population, 200.

3. xaimi 'saxun ("brow of hill"), a summer settlement of the snspi·lux^{w}.
Located on the north bank of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Nespelem river. Population, 100.

4. salqua'xuwi? ("where the trail meets the river"), home of the salqua'xuwi'lau.
This site was across the river from the present town of Barry. It was a semi-permanent settlement numbering perhaps 150 in winter.

5. ski'x^{w}, home of the ski'x^{w}.
This winter camp was about a mile above village no. 4. Population, 40-50.

6. məsməsa'lmx^{w}, home of the smesmesa'lmxuwa'.
A winter camp approximately a mile and a half above village no. 5.

7. sk'ləm'tcn ("passing the coulee"?), fishing grounds of the salqua'xuwi'lau.
Opposite the mouth of Grand Coulee, at the site of the dam. Population, 40-50.

SANPOIL VILLAGES[46]

8. nkoxo'i'tq^{w} ("deep spring"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lux^{w}.
Located about half way between villages nos. 7 and 11. Population, 20-30.

[46]Condensed from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," 15-21.

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9. wal'walà'skɯn ("solid rocks"), home of the swal'walà'skɯnxᵘ.
A winter camp situated a half mile upriver from village no. 8. Population, 20-30.

10. ts'aktsʔ'kskɯn ("rough rock"), a winter camp of the snpui·'lɯxᵘ.
This camp of ten or fifteen persons was located about a half mile below village no. 11.

11. na'a'qᵘ ("across the creek"?), home of the sna'aqau.
A permanent settlement located on the north side of the river about a mile below Plum. Population, 40-50.

12. x̣ax̣sula'uxᵘ ("level ground"), home of the sx̣ax̣sula'uxuwa.
A winter settlement located near Plum. Population, 20.

13. kalpusp'u'stən ("place where rye grass grows"), home of the kalpus p'u'stənaxᵘ.
This winter village occupied a site on the north bank of the river about a mile above Plum. Population 40-50.

14. sa'a·mlkᵘ (from the "roar of the wind hitting the cliff"), home of the sa'a·'mlkᵘ.
A permanent settlement opposite no. 13. Population, 100.

15. npui·'lɯxᵘ ("gray as far as one can see"), home of the snpui·'lɯxᵘ. The name Sanpoil is a corruption of the latter term.
This was the principal village of the Sanpoil, located at the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Actually this village was made up of several smaller camps centering on the flats near the mouth of the Sanpoil river, but extending up the river for a half mile or more. The names of these camps follow, beginning at the mouth of the Sanpoil and continuing upriver: (a) snkelkuqwli'sxanan ("sitting at the foot of the cliff"); (b) qeltsətci'n ("cliff propped up"); (c) qetapkunu'laxᵘ ("knoll"); (d) qaqa·'mqam; (e) a branch of the snkelkuqwli'sxanan (a); (f) snpu·'tɯm ("emerging from the brush"); (g) sk'ɛxwi'lxu ("cave in the rocks"); and (h) snluq'ä'lukᵘ ("wide, bushy place").
Total population in summer, 400; winter, 75-100.

16. xula'lst ("mountains at the edge of the river"), home of the sxula'lstᵘ.
This, the largest winter village of the Sanpoil, was located on the Columbia river at Whitestone, about eight miles above the mouth of the Sanpoil river. Population, 300.

17. nx̣ax̣oyu's ("deep eyes"), fishing grounds of the sxula'lstᵘ.
Located about two miles above no. 16. Population, 50.

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18. snukɑ'ilt ("above the rapids"), home of the snukɑ'iltkᵘ.
A permanent settlement on the west side of the Columbia river about a half mile above the mouth of the Spokane river. Population, 80.

19. xwat'sa'm' ("many bones").
A winter camp about three miles above no. 18. Population, 25-30.

20. npo'xs'tian ("water splashing on the grass").
A winter camp about two miles above no. 20. Population, 25-30.

21. tkukua'lkuxun, home of the stkukua'lkuxunaxᵘ.
A winter village at Roger's Bar, opposite Hunters, Washington. Population, 150.

Following is a list of temporary camps along the Sanpoil river.[40] The list begins with the lowermost camp and proceeds upriver. These are not shown on the map.

A. ənluxu'la'xᵘ ("hole in the ground"), about three miles above the mouth of the river.

B. ksi'k'əst ("scratch on the head"), on the west side of the river, about half way between the Columbia river and Keller.

C. ăqla·'iyuk ("place where a·'iyuk grows"), a half mile above ksi'k'əst (B).

D. snxloɑ'pətɑ·'n ("entering the brush"), a short distance below Keller.

E. p'u·'pəstən ("grass growing along the creek"), at the present site of Keller.

F. nmxo·'yăm ("raccoon in the brush"), about a quarter mile north of Keller.

G. nxwi'i'pəm ("cold water"?) (Sahaptin word?), a mile above Alice creek on the east side of the river.

H. sə'ă'ă'tcəst ("jeering the rock"), at Alice creek. Used as a base for hunting parties in both winter and summer.

I. ătcxulăki'pástəm ("rounding the base of the cliff"), about a half mile north of Alice creek. Used as a hunting base principally.

J. nloqloqəkue'lixtən ("rugged gulch"), about two miles south of Cache creek. Hunting base.

K. nxɑt'lfɑni'tkᵘ ("horse creek") (Columbia word?), on the west side of the river at Cache creek. Hunting camp.

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L. sntxulu'stən ("crevice in the rock"), on the east side of the river, at the foot of a cliff, about a quarter of a mile above Cache creek. Served as a hunting base.

M. ʷlu·'piam ("birch"), a mile and a half above sntxulu'stən (L), on the same side of the river. Hunting camp.

N. slâkumu'ləmxᵘ ("many wild carrots"), directly across the river from nlu·'piam (M). Hunting base and root gathering camp.

O. nxlakatc'i'n ("draw with a wide mouth"), on the east side of the river at Thirty-mile creek. Hunting base.

P. ma'lt', a half mile above Thirty-mile creek. Hunting camp.

Q. luxluxxu'm ("pot holes in the ground"), at Devil's Elbow. Hunting base.

The following places, all above luxluxxu'm (Q) may or may not have been used as camp sites.

R. aqlqəuxwi'ɬpᵘ ("hazel-nut creek"), eight miles below West Fork.

S. tx̣wi'i'p ("sharp hip"), near the creek at West Fork.

T. kli'i'pus ("lone tree on the flat"), at the present site of Republic.

SOUTHERN OKANOGAN VILLAGES[46] [47]

22. t'kuya·'tum, home of the stkuya·'t.

Situated on the Columbia river at the mouth of the Okanogan, about three miles above Brewster. Population, 100.

23. kali'tcmən ("big rapids"), home of the skali'tcmən.

Located at the rapids near Box Canyon, about ten miles above Bridgeport but on the opposite side of the river. Population 20-25 in the winter; many more in summer.

24. ka·yta·'.

A winter village situated near Goose lake at the site of the present Kartaro.

COLVILLE VILLAGES[46]

25. ntcali·"am ("hits the river") home of the sntcali·"xᵘ.

A permanent village located about a mile above the present Inchelium. Population, 150.

26. nqua'si'am ("big eddy"), home of the snqua'si'xᵘ.

Located slightly above the present town of Daisy on the opposite side of the river. Population, 50.

[47]Incomplete; see footnote 34.

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27. qəqəla'pia ("water logged"), home of the sqəqəla'piax^{s}.
Opposite the present town of Harvey. Population, 25-30.

28. nilami'n ("place where the river enters a basin, causing an eddy"), home of the snilami'nax^{s}.
Located about fifteen miles above no. 27. Population, 75.

29. ntcunu'tastum, home of the sntcunu'tast^{s}.
Near Kettle Falls, six miles above no. 28. Population, 25-30.

30. qəluma"ax^{s} ("level land"), home of the sqəluma"ax^{s}.
Opposite Kettle Falls. Population, 25-30.

31. smətcunu'lau, home of the smətcunu'laux^{s}.
Situated at the site of the state bridge at Kettle Falls. Population in winter, 10; in summer, large numbers.

CHELAN VILLAGES

1. ntiá'tk^{s} ("weedy river").
This was a winter village located at the mouth of the Entiat river where the town of the same name now stands. It was occupied jointly by Chelan and Wenatchi peoples (see Wenatchi village no. 5).
The Entiat river served as a fishing stream but was not of great importance because of its small size.
The last chief of this village was named taxas'q'e'n, "bald mountain."
Population, 100 or more.

2. ni'yà'lqən ("basin in which creek meanders").
This village of a few families was located at the mouth of Maple creek, just above the town called Winesap.

3. yəmmusi'tsà ("rainbow robe").
This village was located at the lower end of Lake Chelan. It was the largest winter encampment of the Chelan with a population of about 100. This was an important goat hunting base but for salmon fishing the residents migrated to the Wenatchee river. The precipitous drop from the lake to the Columbia river prevented any salmon from ascending.

4. xəntci·'n ("little rocky gate") in the spà'tlmulux ("bitter root grounds") valley.
This village was on the south side of the Methow river just south of the present town of Pateros. It was the home of a "renegade band" of Chelan numbering fifty or 100. Formerly this was

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doubtless the site of a Methow (mɑ'txo, "land of sunflower seeds") village, but was left unoccupied with the early rapid dwindling of that people.

WENATCHI VILLAGES

1. tapi'skn.

This was a permanent village numbering about fifty persons, located opposite the mouth of Moses Coulee near the mouth of Colocham creek.

2. skɑkɑtɕ'n.

This large permanent village was on the Columbia river about seven miles below the present town of Wenatchee, at Stemilt creek. The population was in excess of 300.[48]

3. skwɑetaktɕ'n.

The mouth of Squillchuck creek, a mile or two below Wenatchee on the west side of the Columbia river, was the site of this village. It was one of the largest permanent villages of the Wenatchi, numbering about 400 people.

4. pɑt'l'knu'lu.

This was a one family camp on the west side of the Columbia river at Zena, eight miles north of the mouth of the Wenatchee river.

5. ntiá'tkᵘ ("weedy river").

This village, at the present site of Entiat, was jointly occupied with the Chelan (see Chelan village no. 1). The Wenatchi population was perhaps forty.

6. alota's.

About one-half mile below Monitor, on the north side of the Wenatchee river, was located this village. The permanent population numbered about 200.

7. ntua'tckɑm.

The mouth of Mission creek, where Cashmere is now located, was the site of this village. The population was about 400 making it one of the largest of Wenatchi villages. It was a permanent village but most populous during the winter.

8. tcɑma·us ("narrow in the middle").

This village was situated at the mouth of Icicle creek about a mile south of the present town of Leavenworth. It was the princi-

[48]The population estimates here may be somewhat high but the ratios are probably reliable.

103 pal salmon fishing grounds of the Wenatchi. About 200 persons remained here throughout the summer but at the height of the salmon fishing season the population swelled to as much as 2,000 or 3,000 including visitors from both near and far. Large salmon drying racks were maintained here for the use of all.

9. tcɨwa'x.

The confluence of Chiwawa creek and the Wenatchee river was the site of this important fishing village. The salmon trap was located at skwatxwa'l, nearby.

COLUMBIA VILLAGES[47]

1. kawa'xtcɨn ("living on the banks").

The mouth of Rock Island creek, at the Columbia river, was the site of this important village.

"Half Moon" was the last chief of this group.

2. nqwalqwalmi'n ("roasting place").

This village was located on the Columbia river where a small creek enters just north of Vantage. Though smaller than village no. 1, this was popular in winter because the site was unusually free of snow.

KITTITAS VILLAGES

1. á'tca ("coming out").

A village on the east side of the Yakima river just below Thrall, Washington.

2. k'ɨ'tás ("something hard").

This village was located about two miles below the present town of Ellensburg on the west side of the Yakima river. It was most populous in summer, numbering between 300 and 400 persons.[48]

3. yumi'c.

This winter village was situated about four miles below the present town of Thorp, on the east side of the Yakima river. It was a large village with a population of about 400.

4. kla'a.

About one mile above Thorp, opposite the mouth of Taneum creek, was located this village. It was a permanent settlement with a population of about 500, the largest of the Kittitas villages.

5. ti'plas.

The mouth of Swauk creek, near the present place called Dudley, was the site of this village. Its permanent population ranged around fifty.

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6. tiá'nawɑns.

This permanent village was located near the mouth of Teanaway creek. Its members used the Swauk creek and the Mountain Home hunting territories. The abundant game in the latter region attracted others during the fall. The permanent population was about fifty.

7. ta'txanɑxca.

John Hill, on the south side of the Yakima river about four miles below Cle Elum, was the site of this village. Population, 50-60.

8. tlɑ'lam (Cle Elum).

This important summer camp occupied a site at the south end of Cle Elum lake where the river flows out. A huge salmon trap was maintained here, attracting as many as 1,000 persons during June and July. A smaller number remained throughout the summer.

9. ná'nam.

This large permanent village was situated on Naneum creek about seven miles northeast of Ellensburg, Washington. Population, about 400.

10. n'tsɑmtsɑ'mtcɑn (Salish word) ("grasshopper creek").

11. tc'la'xan (Salish word) ("standing at the side of your arm").

These two villages were located very near each other at the present site of Kittitas. They were important for the surrounding root digging grounds. They were well populated in May and June.

YAKIMA VILLAGES

1. k'u'sɑs ("two rivers meet" [Columbia and Snake]).

This large and important village was located where Pasco, Washington, now stands. Though claimed by the Yakima its population included many Walula and some Umatilla. Visitors were numerous since it was an important trading center. Also, it was a valuable site for fishing and taking eels. The settlement was occupied throughout the year.

2. tana'xalu ("throw rocks at fish").

This was a large permanent village on the Columbia river opposite the present town of Richland. It was noted especially as a fishing site.

3. A small village of twelve to sixteen lodges was located on both sides of the Yakima river where Kiona is now found.

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4. ta·'ptat (a style of hairdress, "long hair in front, short hair on the sides").

   Both sides of the Yakima river, where Prosser is now located, was the site of this important village. Scouts were placed here.

5. tsi·wà·'la ("fresh water clams").

   This was a large permanent settlement on the south side of the Yakima river just below Mabton. It was an important trading point, especially for dried fresh water clams.

6. ts'a'kit.

   This was a small settlement on the south side of the Yakima river about two miles below the mouth of Satus creek.

7. ici·'tc ("nest").

   The mouth of Satus creek was the site of this large permanent settlement, second of all Yakima villages in size. It was a center for both summer and winter festivities, attracting large numbers of visitors. This village was of such a size that several chiefs were required.

8. pała·xi" ("hoofs").

   This was a small camp located on the south side of the Yakima river just below the present village of Alfalfa.

9. p'sko ("food that tastes queer").

   This small village was situated just above Alfalfa.

10. wa'łała.

    A small camp about one-half mile above no. 9.

11. wapa'i ("water grass").

    This small settlement, located opposite the present town of Boone, was noted for the grass used in weaving which grew in the vicinity.

12. taluima·'s ("fishing point").

    This was a small winter village located opposite the present town of Zillah and a short distance below. It was noted for winter fishing.

13. si".

    This was a large village opposite Zillah.

14. lut'sàni" ("tree with white berries").

    A large village located a short distance above no. 13.

15. x̣actu" ("strong water").

    Located opposite the present Buena.

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16. awa'tam ("salmon jump" referring to the rapids).
On the south side of the Yakima river where the Sunnyside irrigation dam is now located.

17. pa'xotakyut ("hills together," Union Gap).
This was a large village extending for a mile or two along the Yakima river where Union Gap is now located. There was but one chief at this village.

18. tsi'kik ("spring").
This was the largest village of the Yakima. It was located at a spring about one mile north of Union Gap and a half-mile west of the river. The population here was perhaps 2,000.

19. ti'mani ("pictographs made by small boy").
The mouth of Naches river was the site of this large village.

20. wa'patuxs ("capital").
This village, at the site of the present town of Cowiche, was noted as a place where chiefs met together in council.

21. ta·'itan ("torch fishing")
This village, noted for night fishing and hunting, was located on the south side of Cowiche creek just above the present town of the same name.

22. tautunu'k ("medicine").
This was a small permanent village on upper Cowiche creek. It was near important hunting territory.

23. miya'wax ("chief").
This was a permanent village located on the upper Tieton river at the place now called Rimrock (Tieton dam). It was an important center for hunting, fishing and berry gathering.

24. xa'tk'apca ("ground which is loose").
This settlement was on Atanum creek above the mouth a short distance.

25. a'tanam ("creek going down").
This village was on the north side of Atanum creek directly south of the present town of Wiley. It was a large, rich settlement occupied throughout the year. Many visitors from distant points were to be found here.

26. ta'mtiko ("let's go to village below").
Located on Atanum creek directly south of the present Tampico.

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27. ts'a'pas ("thin morning fog").
On the headwaters of the south fork of Atanum creek.

28. tsumkwi".
At the head of Simcoe creek near Saddleback ridge.

29. mu'lmul ("water spurting out").
This village was located at what is now Fort Simcoe. A large spring here was of great value. The village was permanently occupied and quite populous.

30. nikâ's ("large meadow").
This camp, located a short distance east of the present White Swan, was particularly valued as a grazing grounds for horses, and a place of safekeeping out of the reach of raiding parties. Horses could be left here or taken away only by permission of the chief. Only the horse guards stayed here permanently.

31. cxuwi·'ac ("meadow where fawns appear" ?)
This camp was located on Toppenish creek about seven miles below no. 30.

32. cicu" ("bad smelling water").
On Toppenish creek about two miles below no. 31.

33. ca·'xu ("rock slide").
A camp on Toppenish creek about six miles above the mouth. From here a trail led over the Simcoe mountains.

34. txo'panc ("rain pouring out" ?).
This camp was located about four miles west of Granger. There was a spring here and the site was used for wintering horses.

35. xo'kyamkt ("burial grounds").
This village and burial grounds was located on Satus creek about six miles above the mouth.

36. xi·'ta'i ("many sharp pointed rocks").
This small camp was situated at the confluence of North creek and Satus creek. It was used as a temporary camp by travellers.

37. tlatla' ("forked tree").
A summer camp on the headwaters of North creek.

38. pa'wankwyud ("meeting place").
This was a large village with many chiefs, located on Satus creek near the mouth of Logy creek. Winter religious dances were held regularly here. Visitors from Wayampam were numerous.

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39. tamantcatani" ("basket trap").
This camp, located on Satus creek about two miles north of the summit of the mountains, was important as a root gathering base and for basket trap fishing.

40. txi·'una.
This was a scout camp at Satus pass.

41. wa·'xcam ("roots" used as food).
This root gathering camp was about five miles west of Satus pass.

42. lata'ma ("root roasting place").
This was a root gathering and hunting camp near the headwaters of Logy creek.

43. patkwa·'ip ("water coming down").
This was a permanent camp on the trail to the Wayampam and Umatilla territories, about half-way between Satus and Bickelton. One chief resided here.

44. ta'pacnakait ("end of the pine trees").
This was a permanent village and scout location where Bickleton is now situated. Many Wayampams and Umatillas were to be found here.

KLIKITAT VILLAGES

1. xla'tixat (Klikitat).
This was a permanent village located on the north side of the Columbia river at the rapids opposite the present town of Lyle. The population was perhaps 200. This was the only point where the Klikitat villages touched the Columbia.

2. la'uli pa·m" ("belonging to the la'uli people").
The confluence of White Salmon river and Jewett creek was the site of this village. It was the largest Klikitat settlement numbering about 500 persons throughout the year. It was also the home of the Klikitat chief, the last of whom was ta'uwita·kc.

3. nakipank.
A site adjacent to the falls in the White Salmon river, where the present town of Husum is found, was the location of this village. About 150 people lived here throughout the year.

4. xatxa'iwaca.
This was a winter village of about 200 persons located on the White Salmon river four miles above Husum.

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5. kawa'ukai.
   This was a summer camp situated where Snowden is now found. It was noted for the surrounding camas meadows. Population, about 100.

6. pa·'ɬx.
   This was another summer camas grounds, located between the present towns of Laurel and Glenwood. Many people camped here each summer including visitors from Yakima. The number ranged around 500.

7. ntcita'x.
   This summer camp was at Glenwood meadows. Population, 300-400.

8. ca'xcaxunmi' ("crane").
   This summer village, the largest of the Klikitat, was located at Trout lake. It was popular for trout fishing and berry picking.

9. lu'axam ("small burnt place").
   A summer camp at Dead Horse meadow, northwest of Guler.

10. tak"ta'k" ("little meadow").
    This was an important temporary camp at Peterson Prairie near the head of Lava creek. The summer population varied from perhaps 100 to 150.

11. tc'ikwa'c ("roughly rocky place").
    This was an important summer camp about six miles west of no. 10. A horse race track was located here.

12. kalama't ("race track").
    This camp and race track was located about two miles west of no. 11.

13. xali'a ("where wild sunflowers grow").
    A summer camp at Huckleberry mountain.

14. psauwaswa'kuł ("rough, rugged" ?).
    A summer camp at Sawtooth mountain.

15. łma'ma ("old woman," mythological reference).
    A summer camp at Lemei mountain.

16. wawaya'c ("mosquito site").
    A summer camp at Twin Buttes.

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17. kakyálmi' ("pertaining to the little bird").
A summer camp at Bird mountain.

WAYAMPAM VILLAGES

1. ti'naino
A village on the south side of the Columbia river nearly five miles above The Dalles, Oregon.[49]

2. si'lailo·.
At the present Celilo.[49]
This site is still well occupied but with a very much mixed population.

3. sk'i'n ("cradle").
This was an important Wayampam village located about one-half mile west of the present station called Wishram, on the north side of the Columbia a little above Celilo but on the opposite side.

4. wa'paixt ("where the water runs down").
At the present Wishram station on the north side of the Columbia.

UMATILLA VILLAGES[50]

1. i'matłam ("lots of rocks").
Both sides of the mouth of the Umatilla river were occupied by this important winter village. It was the center of an important berrying and root gathering territory as well as the site of salmon fishing operations. Trails led from here to the mountains where elk, antelope and deer were hunted. Also, grazing lands for horses were available and much horse breeding was done. In native words, "This was a good place to live."
Population, 500-600.

2. tuq'woye'pa ("tule place").
This was a spring and summer camp on the south side of the Columbia river between Umatilla and Cold Springs. Chokecherries, berries, kause and other roots were gathered nearby.

3. xu'lulupa ("rapids in the river").
This was a summer fishing camp on the north side of the Columbia river about three miles above the present Mottinger. Salmon were taken in nets and dried for winter use. Population, 20-30.

[49] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 169.
[50] Incomplete, see section VI.

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4. ama'ama'pa ("island").
   This was a stronghold on Blalock island (or those opposite Mottinger?) used as a place of security against raids by the Snake Indians who often attacked the Umatilla and carried off their horses. 103

5. tä·'ksasam ("elbow in the river").
   A temporary camp on the north side of the Columbia river near the present site of the village Roosevelt.

6. k'ami'p* ("opening through the canyon where light penetrates").
   This was a permanent village on the north side of the Columbia at the mouth of Rock creek. It was popular because wood was plentiful. The population was a hundred persons or more.
   This village marked the downriver boundary of the Umatilla.

WANAPAM VILLAGES[50]

1. p'mna".
   Located on the west side of the Columbia river at Priest Rapids.

2. ca'p'tlak.
   About two miles upriver from no. 1, on the same side. This camp is still occupied today. It now consists of two "long houses" of mats and one tipi type mat lodge. The population is perhaps forty.

3. waya·'nwe.
   About one mile north of no. 2, on the west side.

4. tamacak'uni'skuni.
   One mile north of no. 3, same side.

5. xa'txamtcanuwi'tac.
   One mile above no. 4, same side.

CAYUSE BANDS

1. kimi'lhicpu.
   The Butter creek band.

2. wdu·'npu.
   The Pilot Rock (Oregon) band.

3. ha'utmipu.
   The McKay creek band.

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4. nixya·'wipu.
   The band resident near nixya·'wi spring, near the present Cayuse, Oregon.

5. meqicnime'pu.
   The Gibbon-Umatilla river band.

6. qapqapi'tspu.
   This was the Cottonwood creek band of Cayuse.

7. pa'cxapu.
   This was the name given to the Cayuse people in the region of the Walla Walla river.

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TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

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SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward[1] and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.[2] In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.[3]

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

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In a previous paper[4] I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625–34, 1937.

[2] Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

[3] James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

[4] Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99–152, 1936).

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to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.[5]

DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matılam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;[6] reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino[7] enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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[5] This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse–half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla–Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

[6] This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

[7] The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

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131x River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several vil-
173 lages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.[8]

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

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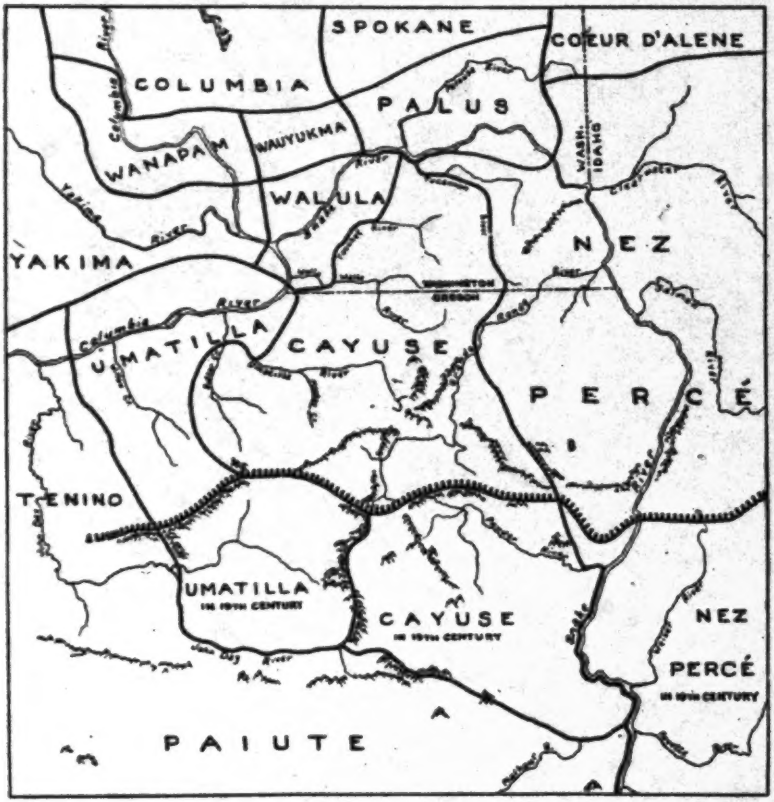

FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

131x below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles
173 above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

[8] In the present map this area is divided between the two.

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Ukiah region, whereas the nearby Lehman hot springs belonged to the Cayuse. Village location largely determined these distinctions; though of mixed composition, the tribal affiliation of each of these villages was quite definite. 131 173

The irregular southern boundaries of the Umatilla and Cayuse were not arbitrary but conformed to topographical conditions. The Umatilla utilized the entire drainage area of the North Fork of the John Day River; the Cayuse used the slopes draining into the Umatilla and Powder Rivers.

Walula (walu'la [Umatilla name], wala'wala [Walula name], "little river;" name of largest village near mouth of Walla Walla River) territory adjoined that of the Umatilla at the bend of the Columbia, but these groups did not intermingle freely. In consequence, the line dividing them was quite definite. The uppermost Umatilla village included no Walula residents, although the principal Walula village was but a few miles distant. In addition to a short segment of the Columbia, the Walula occupied both sides of the Snake River from the mouth to Lyons Ferry.

The habitat of the Cayuse (wayi'letpu) did not touch the Columbia at any point and bordered on the Snake for only a very short distance at the northernmost extreme, near Starbuck. A portion of the territory consisted of bare, rolling hills, but much of the area lay within the Blue Mountains. A number of drainage systems were occupied, including those of the Walla Walla, the Umatilla, the Upper Grande Ronde, Powder, and Burnt Rivers, and the Willow Creek branch of the Malheur River. On the northeast the Tucannon River formed the boundary; on the northwest a segment of the Touchet River served likewise.

Cayuse villages were spread over the whole of the area but were not often located along the boundaries. Thus villages were seldom of mixed composition. Intercourse was extensive with the Nez Percé but the line of demarcation remained well defined. The southern boundary lay in relatively unoccupied country. Territory to the south was held by the Paiute and Bannock, with whom relations were at all times strained.

The western and northern boundaries of the Nez Percé, as shown on the map, are based upon non-conflicting data from Cayuse, Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene informants. These new data agree substantially with those obtained by Spinden from the Nez Percé many years ago.[9] The Nez Percé-Palus boundary rests on Palus village locations and Nez Percé territorial claims. Though the Palus (palu'ʃs, name of village at mouth of Palouse

[9] Herbert J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, pp. 165–274, 1908), pp. 171–75.

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131K River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax,
173 the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

131K The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determin-
175 ing tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded
103 native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

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Lewis and Clark name	*Phonetic transcription*	*English equivalent*	*Location in 1805–1806*
Wah-how-pum[12]	ɤwa'ɬɤwaipam[14]	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am[15]	i'matɬam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low[16]	wɬa'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po[18]	wayi·'ɬetpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum[17]] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah[18]	pɪc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse[19]	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace[20]	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po[21]	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel[22]	ta·'ptat[23]	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom[24]	pcwa'nwapam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee[25]	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low[26]	pa·'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan[27]	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo[28]	ɤaye·'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po[28]	sxoie'lp"[29]	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar[30]	ku·'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish[28]	tski·'sumɪx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

[13] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

[14] Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenmo) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151–300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

[15] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[16] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

[17] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

[18] *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

[19] The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɪc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

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The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earlier distribution noted above.[21]

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Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecomskink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.[22] [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.[23]

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pishquow (npskwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name pa'sko (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

[20] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[21] *Idem*, map 40.

[22] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

[23] Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

[24] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

[25] *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6. p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-ah-nim (probably Salishan).

[26] *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

[27] The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

[28] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

[29] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[30] The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

[31] *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114–19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

[32] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

[33] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

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river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *Ta-wer-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[34]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[35] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[36] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[34] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [35] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [36] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the Nekɛtɛme'uɣ formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikátimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Teit writes of a Salish group called Tiă'kɛtuɣ or Stia'kɛtɛmuɣ being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.[42] Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are ɯstiaxă' (Umatilla) and stiała'ma (Kittitas);.the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe.

In this connection Teit states that

> The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchɛn or .nia'qɛtcɛn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.[43]

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a'kaitci, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the ·nkee'us;[44] Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.[45]

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805–1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800–1830."[46] Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."[47] Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for

[42] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[43] *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[44] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[45] *Idem*, p. 94.
[46] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[47] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river." But this further sentence, *in the same paragraph*, is neglected: "They [of the Columbia River] go to war to their [Snake] first villages in 12 days."[48] In other words, the local Sahaptins (Tenino) were the aggressors in this struggle with sufficient initiative to travel twelve days to the south in order to meet the enemy. A few miles downriver, at The Dalles (city), the distance to the enemy is estimated as four days' march, much less but yet considerable. A recent battle is mentioned, presumably conducted on Shoshonean ground.[49] These notations were made by the explorers on the downriver trip. Upon their return the following year they found the Indians of the vicinity still on the offensive; "They had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians. . . . They had been fortunate in the expedition and had taken from their enimies most of the horses which we saw in their possession."[50] Mooney aptly summarizes conditions for this period and later:

> Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian tribes and driven farther back to the south. . . . The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warmsprings reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later.[51]

Teit and Berreman use the term "Snake" as a specific tribal designation, and assume that in so doing they are following native practice. Their entire reconstructions stand or fall upon the validity of this assumption. Yet Sahaptin informants emphatically declare that they never used Snake as a tribal name, and that they are quite unaware of any such tribe. Instead, the term is used collectively for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute. The name came into familiar usage among the whites because it is the exclusive designation in sign language, the symbol being the same as that used for the reptile. In verbal speech specific names are applied to the various groups.

The distances separating the Shoshoneans from the Columbia River, as indicated in the texts and maps of Lewis and Clark, demonstrate that they were at least as far south in 1805 as during the early distribution outlined above.[52] And yet this is the period at which Teit and Berreman contend

[48] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also *idem*, Vol. 3, p. 168.
[49] *Idem*, Vol. 3, p. 163.
[50] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282. See also above.
[51] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 742.
[52] Except perhaps in the region of the Blue Mountains. See above.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[53]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[54]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[55] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[53] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[54] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[55] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather
173 pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located
361 on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

131*
102
173

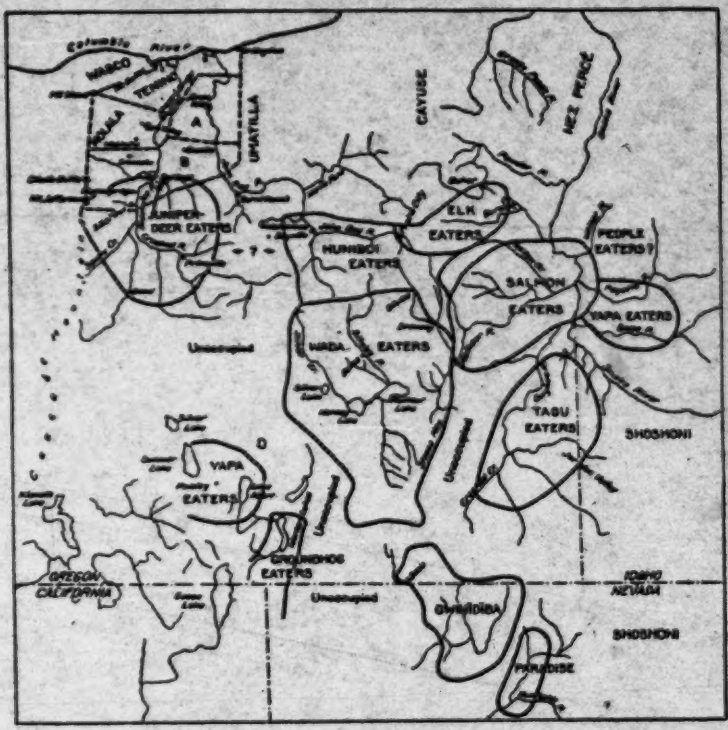

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

131* shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four sub-
173 divisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:
361

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

tinai'nu (1)[56] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2). 131* 173

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia. 361

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[57] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs." [101]

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[56] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[57] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x 173 361 slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'ɾwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, cutai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

131x 173 721 Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

4; Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

131 x
173
721

POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

131 x
175
721

Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . ."

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x 175 721

the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

131x 114 173

Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 x
114
173

4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."

4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political u..its, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.

5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.

5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.

6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.

6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.

7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.

7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.

8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.

8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x 173 114

9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

131x 173 166

The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika's, eaters).[15] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[15] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey. 131 x
These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently 173
wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise 166
venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups.

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tĭka (huni'bui, 131 x
root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around 173
Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tĭhĭchi'tĭka) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker.

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dĭhĭchi'tĭka: wa'pi, juniper; dĭhĭ'chə, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tĭka (yapa, epos), or Goya'tĭka (craw-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* fish).[59] Southwest of the Wada Eaters, and separated by the plateau to the
173 southeast of Catlow Valley, were the Gidü'tikad[60] (Gidï'tïka, Groundhog Eaters). In the vicinity of Denio and McDermitt, to the south of the Wada Eaters were the Gwi'nïdï'ba (no meaning?). According to informants there were no strictly Paiute bands between these people and the Shoshoni. In the vicinity of Paradise Valley and the railroad to Winnemucca, however, there was a group known as the Paradise Indians, who were half Paiute and half Shoshoni.

In the Owyhee River Valley and the vicinity of the present site of the town Jordan Valley, east from the Wada Eaters, were the Tagu'tïka (tagu, root). There were no pure Paiute bands farther to the east.

Northeast of the Wada Eaters were the Salmon Eaters (Agai'tïka). They wintered on the north and south sides of the Malheur River and fished on the Snake. Some informants distinguished two bands of Salmon Eaters, those living north and those south of the Malheur River. The camps of this band extended as far west as the North Fork of the Malheur. Two informants stated that they also wintered on the east side of the Snake. This was denied by others. All informants agreed, however, that they camped on both sides of the river in the spring and summer.[61]

One band, described as being east and north of the Snake River, were known vaguely to the people of Harney Valley. The information indicated that they probably wintered near the Boise River. The members of this band, according to one informant were [illegible] Paiute and half Shoshoni. One informant mentioned another band of [illegible] Eaters (Nïwï'tïka), but did not make it clear whether they lived in the hills to the north or south of the Boise. It was evident that east of the Snake there was a great deal of intermixture of people of Shoshoni and Paiute bands.

These locations were obtained from informants of about seventy-five years old and pertained to the time of their parents, that is approximately 1840–1850. By 1865 pressure from the Umatilla, Cayuse, Tenino, Shoshoni, and the United States Army had driven the Huni'bui Eaters south, the Salmon Eaters west, and the Juniper-Deer Eaters south and east. The bands on the periphery seem to have suffered tremendous losses in the period directly preceding the establishment of the reservation in 1872.

This mapping does not conflict with Steward's distribution of the Sho-

[59] In the case of all the bands there were two or three variant names cited as well as names for sub-groups.

[60] See Isabel T. Kelly, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1932), p. 70.

[61] Information indicated a large percentage of intermarriage with the Shoshoni.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

shoni tribes.[42] It disagrees with Ray's mapping of the Umatilla,[43] which gives to the latter terrain on both sides of the John Day. My information does not in any way substantiate Berreman's classification of the peoples in central eastern Oregon about 1850 in which he postulates Snake and Bannock groups in the north as opposed to Northern Paiute to the south.[44] The bands to the north and northeast, according to the information I secured from the Harney Valley group, were very similar to the Wada Eaters. The dialectic differences were slight. Their cultures differed in aspects of the food quest and material culture. The bands to the north and northwest made much more use of bark and juniper berries. The bands on the Snake had access to a larger quantity of fish, had dugout canoes, and more elaborate fishing techniques.[45] Intermarriage between these groups and those to the south in Nevada and Surprise Valley was common. The population was fluid; families of one band often becoming affiliated with neighboring groups. Furthermore, the group looked upon itself as a unit as opposed to Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. I secured no information which indicated the presence of a permanent Bannock group west of the Snake River in 1840–1850. The Bannock, according to the Wada Eaters' version, were a Northern Paiute group who migrated east across the Snake when the buffalo withdrew from Oregon. My material also disagrees with Berreman's allotment of the region around Gateway on the Deschutes River to the Tenino. I have no evidence which indicates the expansion of the Paiute bands at the expense of Sahaptin groups in the first half of the nineteenth century, except for occasional raids.

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BEATRICE BLYTH

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NORTHERN PAIUTE

The name, Northern Paiute, is preferable to Paviotso for the Indians of the western Great Basin, because they call themselves Paiute, are called Paiute by their Indian neighbors, and are so termed in government reports; also because they form a cultural and linguistic unit much more extensive than Powell's Paviotso.

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The Northern Paiute occupy the western part of the Great Basin in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The northern and western bound-

[42] Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

[43] Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin*, map, p. 5.

[44] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 47 f., 63 f., fig. 2.

[45] The northern and eastern bands seemed also to have owned and made more use of the horse.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

THE NATIVE RACES.

VOL. I. WILD TRIBES.

SAN FRANCISCO:
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1883

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

226 The salmon fisheries of the Columbia are now famous throughout the world. Once every year innumerable multitudes of these noble fish enter the river from the ocean to deposit their spawn. Impelled by instinct, they struggle to reach the extreme limits of the stream, working their way in blind desperation to the very sources of every little branch, overcoming seeming impossibilities, and only to fulfill their destiny and die; for if they escape human enemies, they either kill themselves in their mad efforts to leap impassable falls, or if their efforts are crowned with success, they are supposed never to return to the ocean. This fishery has always been the chief and an inexhaustible source of food for the Chinooks, who, although skillful fishermen, have not been obliged to invent a great variety of methods or implements for the capture of the salmon, which rarely if ever have failed them. Certain ceremonies must, however, be observed with the first fish taken; his meat must be cut only with the grain, and the hearts of all caught must be burned or eaten, and on no account be thrown into the water or be devoured by a dog. With these precautions there is no reason to suppose that the Chinook would ever lack a supply of fish. The salmon begin to run in April, but remain several weeks in the

ing the purpose of a door-way. 'The fire-place is sunk into the earth, and confined from spreading above by a wooden frame.' *Vancouver's Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 77. Emmons, in *Schoolcraft's Archives*, vol. iii., p. 206, speaks of a palisade enclosure ten or fifteen feet high, with a covered way to the river. 'The Indian huts on the banks of the Columbia are, for the most part, constructed of the bark of trees, pine branches, and brambles, which are sometimes covered with skins or rags.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 260. But 'the Chinooks build their houses of thick and broad planks,' etc. *Id.* Lewis and Clarke saw a house in the Willamette Valley two hundred and twenty-six feet long, divided into two ranges of large apartments separated by a narrow alley four feet wide. *Travels*, pp. 503–4, 509, 431–2, 413–14, 409, 392. The door is a piece of board 'which hangs loose by a string, like a sort of pendulum,' and is self-closing. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, pp. 110–11. 'The tribes near the coast remove less frequently than those of the interior.' *California, Past, Present and Future*, p. 133. 'I never saw more than four fires, or above eighty persons—slaves and all—in the largest house.' *Rose' Advent.*, pp. 96–9; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 86, 108; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 322; *Nicolay's Oyn.*, 144, 148–9; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 321, from *Lewis and Clarke*; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 135–7, from *Lewis and Clarke*; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 144–5, 178–9, 245; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 247–8; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 65; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 181; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 187–8; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 204, 216–17; *Shields' Hist. Missions*, pp. 135–9.

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warmer waters near the mouth, and are there taken while in their best condition, by the Chinook tribe proper, with a straight net of bark or roots, sometimes five hundred feet long and fifteen feet deep, with floats and sinkers. One end of the net is carried out into the river at high water, and drawn in by the natives on the shore, who with a mallet quiet the fish and prevent them from jumping over the net and escaping. Farther up, especially at the Cascades and at the falls of the Willamette, salmon are speared by natives standing on the rocks or on planks placed for the purpose; scooped up in small dip-nets; or taken with a large unbaited hook attached by a socket and short line to a long pole. There is some account of artificial channels of rocks at these places, but such expedients were generally not needed, since, beside those caught by the Chinooks, such numbers were cast on the rocks by their own efforts to leap the falls, that the air for months was infected by the decaying mass; and many of these in a palatable state of decay were gathered by the natives for food. Hooks, spears, and nets were sometimes rubbed with the juice of certain plants supposed to be attractive to the fish. Once taken, the salmon were cleaned by the women, dried in the sun and smoked in the lodges; then they were sometimes powdered fine between two stones, before packing in skins or mats for winter use. The heads were always eaten as favorite portions during the fishing season. Next to the salmon the sturgeon was ranked as a source of food. This fish, weighing from two hundred to five hundred pounds, was taken by a baited hook, sunk about twenty feet, and allowed to float down the current; when hooked, the sturgeon rises suddenly and is dispatched by a spear, lifted into the canoe by a gaff-hook, or towed ashore. The Chinooks do not attack the whale, but when one is accidentally cast upon the shore, more or less decayed, a season of feasting ensues and the native heart is glad. Many smaller varieties of fish are taken by net, spear, hook, or rake, but no methods are employed meriting special description. Wild fowl are

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101 131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described — to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects — and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

600 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441–2, 504, 523–4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 195; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 131 181 197 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan....speak kindred dialects.' *Ladewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

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fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhapmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicute-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koetenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

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101 131 inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alêne*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

[304]

[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwater of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Ii.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitsuish*, and Coeur d'Alène, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiaripi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudieres*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

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[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

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Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Kiketats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. [304] [197] [177]

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. [361]

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pahawanwappam lands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

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101 between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former
131 in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[154] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

141 The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many
147 tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

101 *dsay's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Roil-roil-pam, is the Klikatat country.' 'Its meaning
131 is "the Mouse country."' *Id.* The Yakima valley is a great national rendezvous for these and surrounding nations. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 19, 21. Kliketats, meaning robbers, was first the name given to the Whulwhypums, and then extended to all speaking the same language. For twenty-five
[361] years before 1854 they overran the Willamette Valley, but at that time were forced by government to retire to their own country. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7.

[154] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

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the north the Kootenais seem to be superior to the other Shushwap nations. The Salish are assigned by Wilkes and Hale an intermediate place in physical attributes between the coast and mountain tribes, being in stature and proportion superior to the Chinooks, but inferior to the Nez Percés.[155] Inland, a higher order of face is observed than on the coast. The cheek-bones are still high, the forehead is rather low, the face long, the eyes black, rarely oblique, the nose prominent and frequently aquiline, the lips thin, the teeth white and regular but generally much worn. The general expression of the features is stern, often melancholy, but not as a rule harsh or repulsive. Dignified, fine-looking men, and handsome young women have been remarked in nearly all the tribes, but here again the Sahaptins bear off the palm. The complexion is not darker than on the coast, but has more of a coppery hue. The hair is black, generally coarse, and worn long. The beard is very thin, and its growth is carefully prevented by plucking.[156]

141 142 142 302

[155] In the interior the 'men are tall, the women are of common stature, and both are well formed.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. 'Of middle height, slender.' *Hale's Ethnog*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199. The inland tribes of British Columbia, compared with those on the coast, 'are of a better cast, being generally of the middle height.' *Id.*, p. 198. See also p. 206. The Nez Percés and Cayuses 'are almost universally fine-looking, robust men.' In criticising the person of one of that tribe 'one was forcibly reminded of the Apollo Belvidere.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 148, 98. The Klikatat 'stature is low, with light, sinewy limbs.' *Id.*, p. 178; also pp. 158–174. The Walla-Wallas are generally powerful men, at least six feet high, and the Cayuse are still 'stouter and more athletic.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. The Umatillas 'may be a superior race to the "Snakes," but I doubt it.' *Barnhart*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1862, p. 271. The Salish are 'rather below the average size, but are well knit, muscular, and good-looking.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208. 'Well made and active.' *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 327. 'Below the middle hight, with thick-set limbs.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5. The Cootonais are above the medium height. Very few Shushwaps reach the height of five feet nine inches. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 376, vol. i., p. 240. See also on physique of the inland nations, *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340, 356, 359, 382, 527–8, 556–7; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 475; *Dunn*, in *Cal. Farmer, April* 26, 1861; *San Francisco Herald, June*, 1858; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 309, 414; *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6, and vol. i., frontispiece, cut of a group of Spokanes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30, 198; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 54; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. 141

[156] The interior tribes have 'long faces, and bold features, thin lips, wide cheek-bones, smooth skins, and the usual tawny complexion of the American tribes.' 'Features of a less exaggerated harshness' than the coast tribes.

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304 The custom of head-flattening, apparently of seaboard origin and growth, extends, nevertheless, across the Cascade barrier, and is practiced to a greater or less extent by all the tribes of the Sahaptin family. Among them all, however, with the exception perhaps of the Klikatats, the deformity consists only of a very slight compression of the forehead, which nearly or quite disappears at maturity. The practice also extends inland up the valley of the Fraser, and is found at least in nearly all the more western tribes of the Shushwaps. The Salish family do not flatten the skull.[157] Other methods of

Hale's Ethnog., in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 198-9. 'Hair and eyes are black, their cheek bones high, and very frequently they have aquiline noses.' 'They wear their hair long, part it upon their forehead, and let it hang in tresses on each side, or down behind.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. Complexion 'a little fairer than other Indians.' *Id.* The Okanagans are 'better featured and handsomer in their persons, though darker, than the Chinooks or other Indians along the sea-coast.' 'Teeth white as ivory, well set and regular.' The voices of Walla Wallas, Nez Percés, and Cayuses, are strong and masculine. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 294, 127. The Flatheads (Nez Percés) are 'the whitest Indians I ever saw.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 189. The Shushwap 'complexion is darker, and of a more muddy, coppery hue than that of the true Red Indian.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 335. The Nez Perces darker than the Tushepaws. Dignified and pleasant features. Would have quite heavy beards if they shaved. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 356, 359, 527-8, 556-7, 321. The inland natives are an ugly race, with 'broad faces, low foreheads, and rough, coppery and tanned skins.' The Salish 'features are less regular, and their complexion darker' than the Sahaptins. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., pp. 55-6. Teeth of the river tribes worn down by sanded salmon. *Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 228; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 273. Nez Perces and Cayuses 'are almost universally fine looking, robust men, with strong aquiline features, and a much more cheerful cast of countenance than is usual amongst the race. Some of the women might almost be called beautiful, and none that I have seen are homely.' Some very handsome young girls among the Walla Wallas. The Klikatat features are 'regular, though often devoid of expression.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 143, 158, 178. Flatheads 'comparatively very fair in complexion, ...with oval faces, and a mild, and playful expression of countenance.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Kayuls had long dark hair, and regular features. *Cox's Rocky Mountains*, p. 304. Cut and description of a Clickitat skull, in *Morton's Crania*, p. 214, pl. 48. 'The Flatheads are the ugliest, and most of their women are far from being beauties.' *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82.

304 [157] 'The Sahaptin and Wallawallas compress the head, but not so much as the tribes near the coast. It merely serves with them to make the forehead more retreating, which, with the aquiline nose common to these natives, gives to them occasionally, a physiognomy similar to that represented in the hieroglyphical paintings of Central America.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 214, 205. All the Shushwaps flatten the head more or less. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 303. 'Il est à remarquer que les tribus établies au-dessus de la jonction de la branche sud de la Colombie, et désignées sous le nom de Têtes Plates, ont renoncé depuis longtemps à cet usage.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 349. 'A roundhead Klickatat woman would be a pariah.' *Winthrop's Canoe and Saddle*, p. 204. Nez Percés 'seldom known to flatten the

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deforming the person, such as tattooing and perforating the features are as a rule not employed; the Yakimas and Kliketats, however, with some other lower Columbia tribes, pierce or cut away the septum of the nose,[158] and the Nez Percés probably derived their name from a similar custom formerly practiced by them. Paint, however, is used by all inland as well as coast tribes on occasions when decoration is desired, but applied in less profusion by the latter. The favorite color is vermilion, applied as a rule only to the face and hair.[159] Elaborate hair-dressing is not common, and both sexes usually wear the hair in the same style, soaked in grease, often painted, and hanging in a natural state, or in braids, plaits or queues, over the shoulders. Some of the southern tribes cut the hair across the forehead, while others farther north tie it up in knots on the back of the head.[160]

The coast dress—robes or blankets of bark-fibre or

head.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. See *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2, 249–51; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 175; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 263; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 415, with cut. Walla Wallas, Skyuse, and Nez Percés flatten the head and perforate the nose. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 374, 359; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 224.

[158] *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 38–9; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 362, 382–3.

[159] The Salish 'profuse in the use of paint.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 309. Nez Percés painted in colored stripes. *Hine's Voy.*, p. 173. 'Four Indians (Nez Percés) streaked all over with white mud.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 291. Walla Walla 'faces painted red.' The Okanagan 'young of both sexes always paint their faces with red and black bars.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294–8. The inland tribes 'appear to have less of the propensity to adorn themselves with painting, than the Indians east of the mountains, but not unfrequently vermilion mixed with red clay, is used not only upon their faces but upon their hair.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. Red clay for face paint, obtained at Vermilion Forks of the Similkameen River, in B. C. *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Pend d'Oreille women rub the face every morning with a mixture of red and brown powder, which is made to stick by a coating of fish-oil. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 198.

[160] The Oakinack 'women wear their hair neatly clubbed on each side of the head behind the ears, and ornamented with double rows of the snowy higua, which are among the Oakinackens called Shet-la-cane; but they keep it shed or divided in front. The men's hair is queued or rolled up into a knot behind the head, and ornamented like that of the women; but in front it falls or hangs down loosely before the face, covering the forehead and the eyes, which causes them every now and then to shake the head, or use the hands to uncover their eyes.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 294–5. The head of the Nez Percés not ornamented. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 321, 351, 377, 528, 532–3; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Kane's Wand*, p. 274.

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The coat dress -- robes or blankets of bark-fibre or
291 small skins—is also used for some distance inland on the banks of the Columbia and Fraser, as among the Nicoutamuch, Kliketats, and Wascos; but the distinctive inland dress is of dressed skin of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep; made into a rude frock, or shirt, with loose sleeves; leggins reaching half-way up the thigh, and either bound to the leg or attached by strings to a belt about the waist; moccasins, and rarely a cap. Men's frocks descend half-way to the knees; women's nearly to the ankles. Over this dress, or to conceal the want of some part of it, a buffalo or elk robe is worn, espe-
[531] cially in winter. All garments are profusely and often tastefully decorated with leather fringes, feathers, shells, and porcupine quills; beads, trinkets and various bright-colored cloths having been added to Indian ornamenta-
296 tion since the whites came. A new suit of this native skin clothing is not without beauty, but by most tribes the suit is worn without change till nearly ready to drop off, and becomes disgustingly filthy. Some tribes clean and whiten their clothing occasionally with white earth,
[224] or pipe-clay. The buffalo and most of the other large skins are obtained from the country east of the mountains.[161]

[161] The Ootlashoot women wear 'a long shirt of skin, reaching down to
291 the ancles, and tied round the waist.' Few ornaments. The Nez Percés
301 wear 'the buffalo or elk-skin robe decorated with beads, sea-shells, chiefly mother-of-pearl, attached to an otter-skin collar and hung in the hair.' Leggins and moccasins are painted; a plait of twisted grass is worn round the neck. The women wear their long robe without a girdle, but to it 'are tied little pieces of brass and shells, and other small articles.' 'The dress of the female is indeed more modest, and more studiously so than any we have observed, though the other sex is careless of the indelicacy of exposure.' 'The Sokulk females have no other covering but a truss or piece of leather tied round the hips and then drawn tight between the legs.' Three fourths of the Pisquitpaws 'have scarcely any robes at all.' The Chillackittequaws use skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild cats. 'Round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340–1, 351, 359, 361, 377, 526, 528, 532–3.
[292] Many of the Walla Walla, Nez Percé, and Cayuse females wore robes 'richly garnished with beads, higuas,' etc. The war chief wears as a head-dress the whole skin of a wolf's head, with the ears standing erect. The Okanagans wear in winter long detachable sleeves or mittens of wolf or fox skin, also wolf or bear skin caps when hunting. Men and women dress nearly alike, and are profuse in the use of ornaments. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127, 294–8; *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 306. The Flatheads often change their clothing and
[296] clean it with pipe-clay. They have no regular head-dress. From the Ya-

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The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Coz's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuzes well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tushepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flatheads women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 279–80; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Ogn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

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The dwellings are
342 arranged in small villages generally located in winter on
361 the banks of small streams a little away from the main rivers. For a short distance up the Columbia, houses similar to those of the Chinooks are built of split cedar and bark. The Walla Wallas, living in summer in the ordinary mat lodge, often construct for winter a subterranean abode by digging a circular hole ten or twelve feet deep, roofing it with poles or split cedar covered with grass and mud, leaving a small opening at the top for exit and entrance by means of a notched-log ladder. The Atnahs on Fraser River spend the winter in similar structures, a simple slant roof of mats or bark sufficing for shade and shelter in summer. The Okanagans construct their lodges over an excavation in the ground several feet deep, and like many other nations, cover their matting in winter with grass and earth.[162]

[162] The Sokulk houses 'generally of a square or oblong form, varying in length from fifteen to sixty feet, and supported in the inside by poles or forks about six feet high.' The roof is nearly flat. The Echeloot and Chilluckittequaw houses were of the Chinook style, partially sunk in the ground. The Nez Percés live in houses built 'of straw and mats, in the form of the roof of a house.' One of these 'was one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and about fifteen wide, closed at the ends, and having a number of doors on each side.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 351, 369-70, 381-2, 540. Nez Percé dwellings twenty to seventy feet long and from ten to fifteen feet wide; free from vermin. Flathead houses conical but spacious, made of buffalo and moose skins over long poles. Spokane lodges oblong or conical, covered with skins or mats. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148, 192, 200. Nez Percé and Cayuse lodges 'composed of ten long poles, the lower ends of which are pointed and driven into the ground; the upper blunt and drawn together at the top by thongs' covered with skins. 'Universally used by the mountain Indians while travelling.' Umatillas live in 'shantys or wigwams of driftwood, covered with buffalo or deer skins.' Klicatats 'in miserable loose hovels.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 104-5, 156, 174. Okanagan winter lodges are long and narrow, 'chiefly of mats and poles, covered over with grass and earth;' dug one or two feet below the surface; look like the roof of a common house set on the ground. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 313-4. On the Yakima River 'a small canopy, hardly sufficient to shelter a sheep, was found to contain four generations of human beings.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 34, 37. On the Clearwater 'there are not more than four lodges in a place or village, and these small camps or villages are eight or ten miles apart.' 'Summer lodges are made of willows and flags, and their winter lodges of split pine.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 212, 221, 223. At Kettle Falls, the lodges are of rush mats.' 'A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309, 272-3. The Pend d'Oreilles roll their tent-mats into cylindrical bundles for convenience in traveling. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 215, 238, 282. *Barnhart*, in *Id.*, 1862, p. 271. The Shushwap den is warm but 'necessarily unwholesome, and redolent....of anything but roses.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Yakimas, 'rude

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

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huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Haul*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

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[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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226 strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day [624] by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in 221 most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, 226 between June and September, varying a month or more 527 according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble 796 to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

226 [163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rep.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 313–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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The larger varieties of game are hunted by the natives on horseback wherever the nature of the country will permit. Buffalo are now never found west of the Rocky Mountains, and there are but few localities where large game has ever been abundant, at least since the country became known to white men. Consequently the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, the distinctively hunting nations, as well as bands from nearly every other tribe, cross the mountains once or twice each year, penetrating to the buffalo-plains between the Yellowstone and the Missouri, in the territory of hostile nations. The bow and arrow was the weapon with which buffalo and all other game were shot. No peculiar cunning seems to have been necessary to the native hunter of buffalo; he had only to ride into the immense herds on his well-trained horse, and select the fattest animals for his arrows. Various devices are mentioned as being practiced in the chase of deer, elk, and mountain sheep; such as driving them by a circle of fire on the prairie towards the concealed hunters, or approaching within arrow-shot

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then pulling out two or three hairs from his horse's tail for a line, tied the bit of leather to one end of it, in place of a hook or fly.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3. At the mouth of Flatbow River 'a dike of round stones, which runs up obliquely against the main stream, on the west side, for more than one hundred yards in length, resembling the foundation of a wall.' Similar range on the east side, supposed to be for taking fish at low water. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 165–6. West of the Rocky Mountains they fish 'with great success by means of a kind of large basket suspended from a long cord.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 240–1. On Powder River they use the hook as a gaff. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 283. A Wasco spears three or four salmon of twenty to thirty pounds each in ten minutes. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 506. No salmon are taken above the upper falls of the Columbia. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 392. Walla Walla fish-weirs 'formed of two curtains of small willow switches matted together with withes of the same plant, and extending across the river in two parallel lines, six feet asunder. These are supported by several parcels of poles,....and are either rolled up or let down at pleasure for a few feet....A seine of fifteen or eighteen feet in length is then dragged down the river by two persons, and the bottom drawn up against the curtain of willows.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 532. Make fishing-nets of flax. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 90. 'The Inland, as well as the Coast, tribes, live to a great extent upon salmon.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 242; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, pp. 152–3. Palouse 'live solely by fishing.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Salmon cannot ascend to Coeur d'Alêne Lake. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 209–10. Okanagan food 'consists principally of salmon and a small fish which they call carp.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 463. The Walla Wallas 'may well be termed the fishermen of the Skyuse camp.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 84.

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124 231 184 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[164]

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

124 184 [221] [164] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assinniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 297–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ial. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 25, 35–5; *Josel*, in *Id.*, tom. cxxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

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as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.[165]

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

[165] The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; *n'poolthia*, ground into flour; *mamum* and *sackywa*, made into bitter white cakes; *kamass; calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat kamash and an edible moss. *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The Cayooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Perces. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash, cowish* or biscuit root, *jackap, aisish, quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp, 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect camash, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214–15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 337. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *kanah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahseepo*, camas, or 'water seego,' is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (alectoria?). Kamas also eaten. *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor Tour.*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *popkuh*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spallam*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *itucha*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marani*, a grain. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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251 is also pulverized between two stones and packed in baskets lined with fish-skin. Here, as on the coast, the heads and offal only are eaten during the fishing-season.
252 The Walla Wallas are said usually to eat fish without
262 cooking. Roots, mosses, and such berries as are preserved, are usually kept in cakes, which for eating are moistened, mixed in various proportions and cooked, or eaten without preparation. To make the cakes simply drying, pulverizing, moistening, and sun-drying usually suffice; but camas and pine-moss are baked or fermented for several days in an underground kiln by means of hot stones, coming out in the form of a dark gluey paste of the proper consistency for moulding. Many of these powdered roots may be preserved for years without injury. Boiling by means of hot stones and roasting on sharp sticks fixed in the ground near the fire, are the
264 universal methods of cooking. No mention is made of peculiar customs in eating; to eat often and much is the aim; the style of serving is a secondary consideration.[166]
000 Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,

252 262 264

[166] At the Dalles 'during the fishing season, the Indians live entirely on the heads, hearts and offal of the salmon, which they string on sticks, and roast over a small fire.' Besides pine-moss, the Okanagans use the seed of the balsam oriza pounded into meal, called *mielito*. 'To this is added the *sifflaurs*.' Berries made into cakes by the Nez Percés. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 462, 494. Quamash, 'eaten either in its natural state, or boiled into a kind of soup, or made into a cake, which is then called pasheco.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 330, 353, 365, 369. Women's headdress serves the Flatheads for cooking, etc. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 193–9; *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The dog's tongue is the only dish-cloth known' to the Okanagans. Pine-moss cooked, or *squill-ape*, will keep for years. 'At their meals they generally eat separately and in succession—man, woman and child.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3, 295, 317–18. 'Most of their food is roasted, and they excel in roasting fish.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 231, 107. 'Pine moss, which they boil till it is reduced to a sort of glue or black paste, of a sufficient consistence to take the form of biscuit.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 279. Couse tastes like parsnips, is dried and pulverized, and sometimes boiled with meat. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. Root bread on the Clearwater tastes like that made of pumpkins. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 203–3. Kamas after coming from the kiln is 'made into large cakes, by being mashed, and pressed together, and slightly baked in the sun.' White-root, pulverized with stones, moistened and sun-baked, tastes not unlike stale biscuits. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 126–7. Camas and sun-flower seed mixed with salmon-heads caused in the eater great distension of the stomach. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 509–11. *Sowele*, is the name of the mixture last named, among the Cayuses. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 310; *Ind. Life*, p. 41; *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 272–3; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214–15.

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food, 262
and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations 177
cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by 241
the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their 515
lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are 356
mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans 221
break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. 262
Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May: fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon.. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Oge. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p, 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Cole's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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177 411 knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

177 721 The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of 231 equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The war- 721 riors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

411 [169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt*. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–8. 'Ils....faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, on de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 495; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

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led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

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[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

703 continued hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. 721 Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 305, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 93–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have instituted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance..... is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 233–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.

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together for matting. Rude bowls and spoons are sometimes dug out of horn or wood, but the fingers, with pieces of bark and small mats are the ordinary table furniture. Skins are dressed by spreading, scraping off the flesh, and for some purposes the hair, with a sharp piece of bone, stone, or iron attached to a short handle, and used like an adze. The skin is then smeared with the animal's brains, and rubbed or pounded by a very tedious process till it becomes soft and white, some hides being previously smoked and bleached with white clay.[m]

On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

[m] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 105, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes .....font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

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322 cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate
501 bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

231 Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed
556 is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the
231 most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the
[177] natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

501 [172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 208, 214, 223, 238.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.

802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-

805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine

487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Klikatats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 299; *Cox's Columbia*, p. 160; *Cox's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 299; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[173] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland 624 622 623 681 622 624

[173] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Mensæ computant lunis, ex spkaní, *soi* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchâakst, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Selicæ*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374. 805 802 805

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622 624 727 567 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascoe 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

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parties are yet children, and such a contract, guaranteed by an interchange of presents, is rarely broken. To give away a wife without a price is in the highest degree disgraceful to her family. Besides payment of the price, generally made for the suitor by his friends, courtship in some nations includes certain visits to the bride before marriage; and the Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents; indeed the latter may herself propose if she wishes. Runaway matches are not unknown, but by the Nez Percés the woman is in such cases considered a prostitute, and the bride's parents may seize upon the man's property. Many tribes seem to require no marriage ceremony, but in others an assemblage of friends for smoking and feasting is called for on such occasions; and among the Flatheads more complicated ceremonies are mentioned, of which long lectures to the couple, baths, change of clothing, torch-light processions, and dancing form a part. In the married state the wife must do all the heavy work and drudgery, but is not otherwise ill treated, and in most tribes her rights are equally respected with those of the husband.

When there are several wives each occupies a separate lodge, or at least has a separate fire. Among the Spokanes a man marrying out of his own tribe joins that of his wife, because she can work better in a country to which she is accustomed; and in the same nation all household goods are considered as the wife's property. The man who marries the eldest daughter is entitled to all the rest, and parents make no objection to his turning off one in another's favor. Either party may dissolve the marriage at will, but property must be equitably divided, the children going with the mother. Discarded wives are often reinstated. If a Kliketat wife die soon after marriage, the husband may reclaim her price; the Nez Percé may not marry for a year after her death, but he is careful to avoid the inconvenience of this regulation by marrying just before that event. The Salish widow must remain a widow for about two years,

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765 and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's
587 taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women
594 make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers.
831 Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In
881 this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

594 [178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the
595 husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen
584 or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated,
58 and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money.
59 *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polyg-
562] amy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

831 [179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of incontinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[180] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[181]

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[180] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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[181] With the Pend d'Oreilles 'it was not uncommon for them to bury the

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525 The annual summer gathering on the river banks for
527 fishing and trade, and among the mountain nations, the return from a successful raid in the enemy's country, are the favorite periods for native diversions.[182] To gambling they are no less passionately addicted in the interior than on the coast,[183] but even in this universal Indian vice, their preference for horse-racing, the noblest form of gaming, raises them above their stick-shuffling brethren of the Pacific. On the speed of his horse the native stakes all he owns, and is discouraged only when his animal is lost, and with it the opportunity to make up past losses in another race. Foot-racing and target-shooting, in which men, women and children participate, also afford them indulgence in their gambling propensities and at the same time develop their bodies by exercise, and perfect their skill in the use of their native weapon.[184] The Colvilles have a game, *alkollock*, played

847 very old and the very young alive, because, they said, "these cannot take care of themselves, and we cannot take care of them, and they had better die."
888 *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 328; *White's Ogn.*, p. 96; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

525 [182] In the Yakima Valley 'we visited every street, alley, hole and corner of the camp.... Here was gambling, there scalp-dancing; laughter in one
527 place, mourning in another. Crowds were passing to and fro, whooping, yelling, dancing, drumming, singing. Men, women, and children were huddled together; flags flying, horses neighing, dogs howling, chained bears, tied wolves, grunting and growling, all pell-mell among the tents.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 28. At Kettle Falls 'whilst awaiting the coming salmon, the scene is one great revel: horse-racing, gambling, love-making, dancing, and diversions of all sorts, occupy the singular assembly; for at these annual gatherings....feuds and dislikes are for the time laid by.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 72–3.

525 [183] The principal amusement of the Okanagans is gambling, 'at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes,' disputes being settled by arbitration. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 88. A young man at Kettle Falls committed suicide, having lost everything at gambling. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–10. 'Les Indiens de la Colombie ont porté les jeux de hasard au dernier excès. Après avoir perdu tout ce qu'ils ont, ils se mettent eux-mêmes sur le tapis, d'abord une main, ensuite l'autre; s'ils les perdent, les bras, et ainsi de suite tous les membres du corps; la tête suit, et s'ils la perdent, ils deviennent esclaves pour la vie avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 49–50. Many Kooteneais have abandoned gambling. *De Smet, West. Miss.*, p. 300. 'Whatever the poor Indian can call his own, is ruthlessly sacrificed to this Moloch of human weakness.' *Ind. Life*, p. 42; *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 102–3.

[184] Spokanes; 'one of their great amusements is horse-racing.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 487. Kliketats and Yakimas; 'the racing season is the grand annual occasion of these tribes. A horse of proved reputation is a source of wealth or ruin to his owner. On his speed he stakes his

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The Colvilles have a game, skollocks, played with spears. A wooden ring some three inches in diameter is rolled over a level space between two slight stick barriers about forty feet apart; when the ring strikes the barrier the spear is hurled so that the ring will fall over its head; and the number scored by the throw depends on which of six colored beads, attached to the hoop's inner circumference, falls over the spear's head.[185] The almost universal Columbian game of guessing which hand contains a small polished bit of bone or wood is also a favorite here, and indeed the only game of the kind mentioned; it is played, to the accompaniment of songs and drumming, by parties sitting in a circle on mats, the shuffler's hands being often wrapped in fur, the better to deceive the players.[186] All are excessively fond of dancing and singing; but their songs and dances, practiced on all possible occasions, have not been, if indeed they can be, described. They seem merely a succession of sounds and motions without any fixed system. Pounding on rude drums of hide accompanies the songs, which are sung without words, and in which some listeners have detected a certain savage melody. Scalp-dances are performed by women hideously painted, who execute their diabolical antics in the centre of a circle formed by the rest of the tribe who furnish music to the dancers.[187]

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whole stud, his household goods, clothes, and finally his wives; and a single heat doubles his fortune, or sends him forth an impoverished adventurer. The interest, however is not confined to the individual directly concerned; the tribe share it with him, and a common pile of goods, of motley description, apportioned according to their ideas of value, is put up by either party, to be divided among the backers of the winner.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Repl.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 412. 'Running horses and foot-races by men, women and children, and they have games of chance played with sticks or bones;' do not drink to excess. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 237, 406. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.* pp. 557; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 269.

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[185] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 310–11.

[186] The principal Okanagan amusement is a game called by the voyageurs 'jeu de main,' like our odd and even. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, p. 463. It sometimes takes a week to decide the game. The loser never repines. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 308–11; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 71.

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[187] Among the Wahowpums 'the spectators formed a circle round the dancers, who, with their robes drawn tightly round the shoulders, and divided into parties of five or six men, perform by crossing in a line from one side of the circle to the other. All the parties, performers as well as spectators, sing, and after proceeding in this way for some time, the spectators join, and the whole concludes by a promiscuous dance and song.' The Walla Wallas 'were formed into a solid column, round a kind of hollow

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses.
533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah*, in constant repetition,.....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ho-ha-ho-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rep't.*, 1854, p. 220.

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horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–; *Lowenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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771 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged
787 to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf
825 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings
751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar
783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold
756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion
343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are
515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some-
783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left
753
825

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 289–1, 318.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–0. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourning friends and avengers. One motive of the Cayuses 757 in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was unquestioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

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from the part supposed to be affected. The spectators pound with their sticks, and all, including doctor, and often the patient in spite of himself, keep up a continual song or yell. There is, however, some method in this madness, and when the routine is completed it is again begun, and thus repeated for several hours each day until the case is decided. In many nations the doctor finally extracts the spirit, in the form of a small bone or other object, from the patient's body or mouth by some trick of legerdemain, and this once effected, he assures the surrounding friends that the tormentor having been thus removed, recovery must soon follow.[196]

[196] The Nez Percés 'are generally healthy, the only disorders which we have had occasion to remark being of scrophulous kind.' With the Sokulks 'a bad soreness of the eyes is a very common disorder.' 'Bad teeth are very general.' The Chilluckittequaws' diseases are sore eyes, decayed teeth, and tumors. The Walla Wallas have ulcers and eruptions of the skin, and occasionally rheumatism. The Chopunnish had 'scrofula, rheumatism, and sore eyes,' and a few have entirely lost the use of their limbs. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 352, 382, 531, 549. The medicine-man uses a medicine-bag of relics in his incantations. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 240–1. The Okanagan medicine-men are called *tlaquillaughs*, and 'are men generally past the meridian of life; in their habits grave and sedate.' 'They possess a good knowledge of herbs and roots, and their virtues.' I have often 'seen him throw out whole mouthfuls of blood, and yet not the least mark would appear on the skin.' 'I once saw an Indian who had been nearly devoured by a grizzly bear, and had his skull split open in several places, and several pieces of bone taken out just above the brain, and measuring three-fourths of an inch in length, cured so effectually by one of these jugglers, that in less than two months after he was riding on his horse again at the chase. I have also seen them cut open the belly with a knife, extract a large quantity of fat from the inside, sew up the part again, and the patient soon after perfectly recovered.' The most frequent diseases are 'indigestion, fluxes, asthmas, and consumptions.' Instances of longevity rare. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 302–8. A desperate case of consumption cured by killing a dog each day for thirty-two days, ripping it open and placing the patient's legs in the warm intestines, administering some barks meanwhile. The Flatheads subject to few diseases; splints used for fractures, bleeding with sharp flints for contusions, ice-cold baths for ordinary rheumatism, and vapor bath with cold plunge for chronic rheumatism. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 90–3, vol. i., pp. 248–51. Among the Walla Wallas convalescents are directed to sing some hours each day. The Spokanes require all garments, etc., about the death-bed to be buried with the body, hence few comforts for the sick. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–7, 485. The Flatheads say their wounds cure themselves. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–200. The Wascos cure rattlesnake bites by salt applied to the wound or by whisky taken internally. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 265, 273, 317–18. A female doctor's throat cut by the father of a patient she had failed to cure. *Hines' Voy.*, p. 190. The office of medicine-men among the Sahaptins is generally hereditary. Men often die from fear of a medicine-man's evil glance. Rival doctors work on the fears of patients to get each other killed. Murders of doctors somewhat rare among the Nez Percés. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–3, 655. Small-pox seems to have come among the Yakimas and Klikatats before direct intercourse with whites. *Gibbs*, in

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765 Grief at the death of a relative is manifested by cutting the hair and smearing the face with black. The women also howl at intervals for a period of weeks or even months; but the men on ordinary occasions rarely make open demonstrations of sorrow, though they some-
762 times shed tears at the death of a son. Several instances
765 of suicide in mourning are recorded; a Walla Walla chieftain caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons. The death of a wife or daughter is deemed of comparatively little consequence. In case of a tribal disaster, as the death of a prominent chief, or the killing of a band of warriors by a hostile tribe, all indulge in the most frantic demonstrations, tearing the hair, lacerating the flesh with flints, often in-
782 flicting serious injury. The sacrifice of human life, generally that of a slave, was practiced, but apparently no-
765 where as a regular part of the funeral rites. Among the Flatheads the bravest of the men and women ceremonially bewail the loss of a warrior by cutting out pieces of their own flesh and casting them with roots and other
[551] articles into the fire. A long time passes before a dead person's name is willingly spoken in the tribe. The
764 corpse is commonly disposed of by wrapping in ordinary clothing and burying in the ground without a coffin. The northern tribes sometimes suspended the body in a canoe from a tree, while those in the south formerly piled their dead in wooden sheds or sepulchres above ground. The Okanagans often bound the body upright to the trunk of a tree. Property was in all cases sacrificed; horses usually, and slaves sometimes, killed on the grave. The more valuable articles of wealth were deposited with the body; the rest suspended on poles over and about the grave or left on the surface of the ground; always previously damaged in such manner as not to tempt the sacrilegious thief, for their places of

164 *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a
756 brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wasco bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêteté, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 163–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 281, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.

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181 inland native is almost unanimously pronounced superior to the dweller on the coast. The excitement of the chase, of war, and of athletic sports ennobles the mind as it develops the body; and although probably not by nature less indolent than their western neighbors, yet are these natives of the interior driven by circumstances to habits of industry, and have much less leisure time for the cultivation of the lower forms of vice. As a race, and compared with the average American aborigines, they are honest, intelligent, and pure in morals. Travelers are liable to form their estimate of national character from a view, perhaps unfair and prejudiced, of the actions of a few individuals encountered; consequently qualities the best and the worst have been given by some to each of the nations now under consideration. For the best reputation the Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais have always been rivals; their good qualities have been praised by all, priest, trader and tourist. Honest, just, and often charitable; ordinarily cold and reserved, but on occasions social and almost gay; quick-tempered and revengeful under what they consider in-

have 'fewer failings than any of the tribes I ever met.' Brave, quiet, and amenable to their chiefs. Spokanes 'quiet, honest, inoffensive,' but rather indolent. 'Thoughtless and improvident.' Okanagans 'Indolent rascals;' 'an honest and quiet tribe.' Sanspoils dirty, slothful, dishonest, quarrelsome, etc. Coeurs d'Alène 'uniformly honest;' 'more savage than their neighbours.' Kootenais honest, brave, jealous, truthful. Kamloops 'thieving and quarrelling.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 148, 192, 199, 239–40, 262–3, 344, vol. ii., pp. 44, 87–8, 109, 145–60. Okanagans active and industrious, revengeful, generous and brave. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 142, 290–5, 327–9. Skeen 'a hardy, brave people.' Cayuses far more vicious and ungovernable than the Walla Wallas. Nez Percés treacherous and villainous. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263, 280, 290, 307–8, 315. Nez Percés 'a quiet, civil, people, but proud and haughty.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128, 48, 53, 59, 61, 124–7. 'Kind to each other.' 'Cheerful and often gay, sociable, kind and affectionate, and anxious to receive instruction.' 'Lying scarcely known.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 97, 105, 232, 239, 303–4, 311–12. Of the Nicutemuchs 'the habitual vindictiveness of their character is fostered by the ceaseless feuds.' 'Nearly every family has a minor vendetta of its own.' 'The races that depend entirely or chiefly on fishing, are immeasurably inferior to those tribes who, with nerves and sinews braced by exercise, and minds comparatively ennobled by frequent excitement, live constantly amid war and the chase.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., pp. 77–80. Inland tribes of British Columbia less industrious and less provident than the more sedentary coast Indians. *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301, 297. Sahaptins 'cold, taciturn, high-tempered, warlike, fond of hunting.' Palouse, Yakimas, Kliketats, etc., of a 'less hardy and active temperament' than the Nez Percés. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 199, 210–13. Cayuses 'dreaded by their neigh-

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justice, but readily appeased by kind treatment; cruel only to captive enemies, stoical in the endurance of torture; devotedly attached to home and family; these natives probably come as near as it is permitted to flesh-and-blood savages to the traditional noble red man of the forest, sometimes met in romance. It is the pride and boast of the Flathead that his tribe has never shed the blood of a white man. Yet none, whatever their tribe, could altogether resist the temptation to steal horses from their neighbors of a different tribe, or in former times, to pilfer small articles, wonderful to the savage eye, introduced by Europeans. Many have been nominally converted by the zealous labors of the Jesuit Fathers, or Protestant missionaries; and several nations have greatly improved, in material condition as well as in character, under their change of faith. As Mr Alexander Ross remarks, "there is less crime in an Indian camp of five hundred souls than there is in a civilized village of but half that number. Let the lawyer or moralist point out the cause."

bors on account of their courage and warlike spirit.' Walla Wallas 'notorious as thieves since their first intercourse with whites.' 'Indolent, superstitious, drunken and debauched. Character of Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, Umatillas. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–9, 211, 218, 223, 282, 1861, pp. 164–5. Yakimas and Kliketats 'much superior to the river Indians.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 298, 403, 416, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 139. Wascos 'exceedingly vicious.' *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 169. The Nez Percés 'are, certainly, more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages.' Skyuses, Walla Wallas. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101, 287, 289–90, 300. Tushepaws; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Thompson River Indians rather a superior and clever race. *Victoria Colonist*, Oct., 1860. 'Indians from the Rocky mountains to the falls of Columbia, are an honest, ingenuous, and well disposed people,' but rascals below the falls. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 304. Flathead 'fierceness and barbarity in war could not be exceeded.' *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 153. Flatheads, Walla Wallas and Nez Percés; *Gray's Hist. Oyn.*, pp. 171, 219. Kootenais; *Palliser's Explor.*, pp., 44, 73. Salish, Walla Wallas; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., p. 64. Walla Wallas, Cayuses, and Nez Percés; *White's Oregon*, p. 174. Walla Wallas, Kootenais; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 85, 178. Flatheads, Nez Percés; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 315, 326–8. Nez Percés; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 109; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268. Kayuses, Walla Wallas; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 156. Sahaptins; *Wilkes' Hist. Oyn.*, p. 106. Nez Percés; *Hastings' Emigrants' Guide*, p. 59. Flatheads; *Ind. Life*, pp. ix., x., 25. At Dalles; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 412. Shushwaps; *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 288–304, 313. At Dalles; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., p. 82; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43. Pend d'Oreilles; *Josset*, in *Id.*, 1849, tom. cxxiii., pp. 334–40.

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000 Plains.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Kalapuyas, above the falls of the Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 36. '50 miles from the mouth of the Wallaumut, W. side.' *Morse's Repl.*, p. 368. Vule Puyas, Valley of the Willamette. *Warre and Vavasseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81.

The *Clackamas* are on the 'Clackama River.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'Clakemas et Kaoulis, sur le Ouallamet et la rivière Kaoulis.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Valley of the Clakamus and the Willamuta Falls.' *Warre and Vavasseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81. Klackamas, 'three miles below the falls.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 144. Clackamis. *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 84. Clarkamees. *Morse's Repl.*, p. 372. Clackamus. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.*

The *Mollales* are found in 'Willamettee Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'At the mouth of the Wallamet, and the Wapatoo Islands. *Tucker's Oregon*, p. 71. 'Upon the west side of the Willamette and opposite Oregon City.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 84.

101 131 The Shushwap Family comprises all the inland tribes of British Columbia, south of lat. 52° 30'.

The *Atnahs*, Strangers, Niccoutamuch, or Shushwaps proper, inhabit the Fraser and Thompson valleys. 'At Spuzzum....a race very different both in habits and language is found. These are the Nicoutamuch, or Nicoutameens, a branch of a widely-extended tribe. They, with their cognate septs, the Atnaks, or Shuswapmuch, occupy the Frazer River from Spuzzum to the frontier of that part of the country called by the Hudson Bay Company New Caledonia, which is within a few miles of Fort Alexandria.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296. 'Shushwaps of the Rocky Mountains inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of Jasper House, and as far as Tête Jaune Cache on the western slope. They are a branch of the great Shushwap nation who dwell near the Shushwap Lake and grand fork of the Thompson River in British Columbia.' Thompson River and Lake Kamloops. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, pp. 241, 335. 'On the Pacific side, but near the Rocky Mountains, are the Shoushwaps who, inhabiting the upper part of Frazer's River, and the north fork of the Columbia.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'The Shooshaps live below the Sinpauelish Indians.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'The Shushwaps possess the country bordering on the lower part of Frazer's River, and its branches.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. The Atnahs or Soushwap, 'live in the country on the Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers.' 'They were termed by Mackenzie the Chin tribe.' (See p. 251, note 141 of this vol.) *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427; *Buschmann, Brit. Nordamer.*, p. 320. Shooshaps, south of the Sinpavelist. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50-1. 'The Atnah, or Chin Indian country extends about one hundred miles,' from Fort Alexander. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 361. Shooshewaps inhabit the region of the north bend of the Columbia, in 52°. Atnahs, in the region of the Fraser and Thompson rivers. *Macdonald's Lecture on B. C.*, p. 10; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27. 'The Shewhapmuch (Atnahs of Mackenzie).....occupy the banks of Thompson's River; and along Frazer's River from the Rapid village, twenty miles below Alexandria,

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to the confluence of these two streams. Thence to near the falls the tribe bears the name of Nicutemuch.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76. 101

'The Stta Llimuh, natives of Anderson Lake, speak a dialect of the Shuswap language.' Skowhomish, in the same vicinity. *McKay*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. ii., p. 32. 131

'The Loquilt Indians have their home in the winter on Lake Anderson, and the surrounding district, whence they descend to the coast in Jervis Inlet in the summer.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 299.

The Kamloops dwell about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Okanagan. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 156.

The Clunsus are east of Fraser River, between Yale and latitude 50°; Skowtous, on the fiftieth parallel south of Lake Kamloops and west of Lake Okanagan; Sockatcheenum, east of Fraser and north of 51°, *Bancroft's Map of Pac. States.*

The *Kootenais* live in the space bounded by the Columbia River, Rocky Mountains, and Clarke River. The Kitunaha, Coutanies, or Flatbows, 'wander in the rugged and mountainous tract enclosed between the two northern forks of the Columbia. The Flat-bow River and Lake also belong to them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 204–5, map, p. 297. 'Inhabit the country extending along the foot of the Rocky mountains, north of the Flatheads, for a very considerable distance, and are about equally in American and in British territory.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. Kootoonais, 'on McGillivray's River, the Flat Bow Lake, etc.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Kootonais, on 'or about the fiftieth parallel at Fort Kootonie, east of Fort Colville.' *Simpson's Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 138. 'Between the Rocky Mountains, the Upper Columbia and its tributary the Kilispehu or Pend'oreille, and watered by an intermediate stream called the Kootanais River is an angular piece of country peopled by a small, isolated tribe bearing the same name as the last-mentioned river, on the banks of which they principally live.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. The lands of the Cottonois 'lie immediately north of those of the Flatheads.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 70. Kutanae, Kútani, Kitunaha, Kutneha, Coutanies, Flatbows, 'near the sources of the Mary River, west of the Rocky Mountains.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 98. 'Inhabit a section of country to the north of the Ponderas, along M'Gillivray's river.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Koutanies ou Arcs-Plats, Près du fort et du lac de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'In the Kootanie Valley.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 178. Kootonays, south of the Shushwaps. *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'Great longitudinal valley' of the Kootanie river. *Hector*, in *Id.*, p. 27. 'The Tobacco Plains form the country of the Kootanies.' *Blakiston*, in *Id.*, p. 73. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oyn.*, p. 30. Kootannis, 'angle between the Saeliss lands and the eastern heads of the Columbia.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 79. About the river of the same name, between the Columbia and Rocky Mountains. *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 143. A band called Sinatcheggs on the upper Arrow Lake. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. The Kootenais were perhaps the Tushepaws of Lewis and Clarke.

The *Tushepaws* are 'a numerous people of four hundred and fifty tents, residing on the heads of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and some of

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101 121 them lower down the latter river.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 321, and map; *Bulfinch's Oym.*, p. 134. 'On a N. fork of Clarke's River.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Ootlashoots, Micksuncksealton (Pend d'Oreilles?), Hohilpos (Flatheads?), branches of the Tushepaws. *Id.*; and *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* The Tushepaw nation might as correctly be included in the Salish family or omitted altogether. According to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417, they were the Kootenais.

The *Okanagans*, or Okinakanes, 'comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Tekunratum at the mouth; Konekonep, on the creek of that name; Kluckhaitkwee, at the falls; Kinakanes, near the forks; and Milaketkun, on the west fork. With them may be classed the N'Pockle, or Sans Puelles, on the Columbia river, though these are also claimed by the Spokanes. The two bands on the forks are more nearly connected with the Schwogelpi than with the ones first named.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 237, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. Oakinackens, Priests' Rapids, northward over 500 miles, and 100 miles in width, to the Shewhaps, branching out into 12 tribes, as follows, beginning with the south: 'Skamoynumachs, Kewaughtchenunaughs, Pissoows, Incomecanétook, Tsillane, Intiétook, Battlelemuleemauch, or Meatwap, Inspellum, Sinpohellechach, Sinwhoyelppetook, Samilkanuigh and Oakinacken, which is nearly in the centre.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–90. 'On both sides the Okanagan River from its mouth up to British Columbia, including the Sennelkameen River.' *Ross*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'Près du fort de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.* tom. ii., p. 335. 'On the Okanagan and Piscour Rivers.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81. 'Composed of several small bands living along the Okinakane river, from its confluence with the Columbia to Lake Okinakane.... A majority of the tribe live north of the boundary line.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'Columbia Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 490. Northeast and west of the Shoopshaps. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 51. Junction of the Okanagan and Columbia. *Parker's Map.* 'Upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Principal family called Conconulps about 9 miles up stream of the same name. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–90. The Similkameen live on S. river, and 'are a portion of the Okanagan tribe.' *Palmer*, in *B. Col. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 85. The Okanagans, called Calsanim by Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Cutsahnim, on the Columbia above the Sokulks, and on the northern branches of the Taptul. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372.

THE SALISH FAMILY includes all the inland tribes between 49° and 47°. The Salish, Saalis, Selish, or Flatheads, 'inhabit the country about the upper part of the Columbia and its tributary streams, the Flathead, Spokan, and Okanagan Rivers. The name includes several independent tribes or bands, of which the most important are the Salish proper, the Kullespelm, the Soayalpi, the Tsakaitsitlin, and the Okinakan.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'The Saeliss or Shewhapmuch race, whose limits may be defined by the Rocky Mountains eastward; on the west the line of Frazer's river from below Alexandria to Kequeloose, near the Falls, in about

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latitude 49° 50′; northward by the Carrier offset of the Chippewyans; and south by the Sahaptins or Nez Percés of Oregon.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 73. 'From Thompson's River other septs of this race—the Shuswaps, Skowtous, Okanagans, Spokans, Skoielpoi (of Colville), Pend'oreilles, and Coeurs d'Aleines—occupy the country as far as the Flathead Passes of the Rocky Mountains, where the Saelies or Flatheads form the eastern portion of the race.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 296-7. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 30; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. Tribes mentioned in *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, and map: Tushepaw (Kootenai), Hopilpo (Flathead), Micksucksealtom (Pend d'Oreilles), Wheelpo, (Chualpays), Sarlisto and Sketsomish (Spokanes), Hehighenimmo (Sans Poils), according to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. See *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. 'Between the two great branches of the Columbia and the Rocky Mountains are only five petty tribes: the Kootanais and Selish, or Flatheads, at the foot of the mountains, and the Pointed Hearts, Pend d'Oreilles, and Spokanes lower down.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. 'Divided into several tribes, the most important of which are the Selishes, the Kullespelms, the Sonyalpis, the Tsakaltsitlins, and the Okinakans.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55-6.

The *Flatheads*, or Salish proper, reside on the river, valley, and lake of the same name. 'Inhabit St. Mary's or the Flathead Valley and the neighborhood of the lake of the same name.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415, and in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207. 'Occupying the valleys between the Bitter Root and Rocky mountains.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'South of the Flathead Valley on the Bitter Root.' *Sully*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 192. St. Mary's River. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. 'East and south-east (of the Coeurs d'Alène) and extends to the Rocky Mountains.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 311, and map. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. Saalis ou faux Têtes-Plates. Sur la rivière de ce nom au pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Along the foot of the mountains.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 213. 'In New Caledonia, W. of the Rocky Mountains.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 371. Bitter Root valley. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455, 1865, p. 246; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Hopilpo, of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. 'Ils occupent le pays compris entre le Lewis River et la branche nord-ouest ou la Columbia, et borné en arrière par les Monts-Rocailleux. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43.

The *Pend d'Oreilles* occupy the vicinity of the lake of the same name. 'On the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. 'At Clark's Fork.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. Lower Pend d'Oreilles, 'in the vicinity of the St. Ignatius Mission.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake, inhabit the country north of the Coeur d'Alenes and around the Kalispelm lake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Calispels, or Calispellum, 'on Fool's Prairie at the head of Colville Valley, and on both sides of the Pend d'Oreille River, from its mouth to the Idaho line, but principally at the Camas Prairie.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, pp. 22, 25, 192. Situated to the east of Fort Colville, adjoining the Kootonais on their eastern border. *Simp-*

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101 131 son's *Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 146. 'Pend'oreilles ou Kellespem. Au-dessous du fort Colville.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Skatkmlschi, or Pend d'Oreilles of the upper lake. A tribe who, by the consent of the Selish, occupy jointly with them the country of the latter. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Kullas-Palus, 'on the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Ponderas, 'north of Clarke's river and on a lake which takes its name from the tribe.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312 and map; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 32. The Pend'oreilles were probably the Micksuckseeltom of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

Tribes baptized by De Smet: Thlishatkmuche, Stietshoi, Zingomenes, Shaistche, Shuyelpi, Tschilsolomi, Siur Poils, Tinabsoti, Yinkaceous, Yejak-oun, all of same stock.

Tribes mentioned by Morse as living in the vicinity of Clarke River: Coopspellar, Lahama, Lartielo, Hihighenimmo, Wheelpo, Skeetsomish. *Rept.*, p. 372.

The *Coeurs d'Aléne* 'live about the lake which takes its name from them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 209. East of the Spokanes, at headwaters of the Spokane River. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'The Skitswish or Coeur d'Alenes, live upon the upper part of the Coeur d'Alene river, above the Spokanes, and around the lake of the same name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Their mission is on the river ten miles above the lake and thirty miles from the mountains. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 216. Stietshoi, or Coeur d'Alenes on the river, and about the lake. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map, vol. v., p. 490. Pointed Hearts, 'shores of a lake about fifty miles to the eastward of Spokan House.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 150; *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 143; *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'St. Joseph's river.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49.

The *Colvilles* include the tribes about Kettle Falls, and the banks of the Columbia up to the Arrow Lakes. 'Colville valley and that of the Columbia river from Kettle Falls to a point thirty miles below.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Colvilles, whose tribal name is Swielpree, are located in the Colville Valley, on the Kettle River, and on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls down to the mouth of the Spokane.' *Winans*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 22. Colvilles and Spokanes, 'near Fort Colville.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82.

The Lakes, 'whose tribal name is Senijextee, are located on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls north to British Columbia.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'So named from their place of residence, which is about the Arrow Lakes.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Les sauvages des Lacs ...résident sur le Lac-aux-flèches.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50.

The Chaudières, or Kettle Falls, reside 'about Colville.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. The village of Les Chaudières 'is situated on the north side just below the fall.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 358. Chaudières 'live south of the Lake Indians.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. 'Fort Colville is the principal ground of the Schwoyelpi or Kettle Falls tribe.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 413. 'The tribe in the vicinity (of Fort Colville) is known as the Chaudiere, whose territory reaches as far up as the Columbia Lakes.' *Simp-*

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son's *Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 151. 'Gens des Chaudières. Près du lac Schouchouap au-dessous des Dalles.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Called in their own language, Chualpays.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 308–9. 'Called Quiarlpi (Basket People).' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 472. The Chualpays called Wheelpo by Lewis and Clarke, and by Morse. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Spokanes* live on the Spokane river and plateau, along the banks of the Columbia from below Kettle Falls, nearly to the Okanagan. 'The Spokihnish, or Spokanes, lie south of the Schrooyelpi, and chiefly upon or near the Spokane river. The name applied by the whites to a number of small bands, is that given by the Coeur d'Alene to the one living at the forks. They are also called Sinkoman, by the Kootonies. These bands are eight in number: the Sinslihhooish, on the great plain above the crossings of the Coeur d'Alene river; the Sintootoolish, on the river above the forks; the Smahoomenaish (Spokehuish), at the forks, the Skaischilt'nish, at the old Chemakane mission; the Skecheramouse, above them on the Colville trail; the Scheeetstish, the Sinpoilschne, and Sinspeelish, on the Columbia river; the last-named band is nearly extinct. The Sinpoilschne (N'pochle, or Sans Puelles) have always been included among the Okinakanes, though, as well as the Sinspeelish below them, they are claimed by the Spokanes. The three bands on the Columbia all speak a different language from the rest.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 230, 236; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 414–15. 'This tribe claim as their territory the country commencing on the large plain at the head of the Slawntehus—the stream entering the Columbia at Fort Colville; thence down the Spokane to the Columbia, down the Columbia half way to Fort Okinakane, and up the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene, to some point between the falls and the lake, on the latter.' *Id.*, p. 414. 'Inhabit the country on the Spokane river, from its mouth to the boundary of Idaho.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'At times on the Spokane, at times on the Spokane plains.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'Principally on the plains.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 157. 'North-east of the Palooses are the Spokein nation.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'Au-dessous du fort Okanagam à l'Est.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Au nord-ouest des Palooses se trouve la nation des Spokanes.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. 'Have a small village at the entrance of their river, but their chief and permanent place of residence is about forty miles higher up .... where the Pointed-heart River joins the Spokan from the south-east.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 147. 'The Spokanes, whose tribal names are Sineequomenach, or Upper, Sintootoo, or Middle Spokamish, and Chekasschee, or Lower Spokanes, living on the Spokane River, from the Idaho line to its mouth.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23. Spokane, the Sarlilso and Sketsomish of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Sans Poils* (Hairless), or 'Sanpoils, which includes the Nespelum Indians, are located on the Columbia, from the mouth of the Spokane down to Grand Coulée (on the south of the Columbia), and from a point opposite the mouth of the Spokane down to the mouth of the Okanagan on the north side of the Columbia, including the country drained by the Sanpoil, and

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101 131 Nespelem Creeks.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. Sinpoilish, west of the Columbia between Priest Rapids and Okanagan. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map. Sinpanelish, west of the Kettle Falls Indians. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'Simponals. Près des grands rapides du Rio Colombia.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Sinpavelist, west of the Chaudières. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. Sinapoils, 'occupy a district on the northern banks of the Columbia, between the Spokan and Okinagan rivers.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 145. Hehighenimmo of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Pisquouse* inhabit the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. Piskwaus, or Piscous; 'name properly belongs to the tribe who live on the small river which falls into the Columbia on the west side, about forty miles below Fort Okanagan. But it is here extended to all the tribes as far down as Priest's Rapids.' The map extends their territory across the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210, and map, p. 197. Pisquouse, 'immediately north of that of the Yakamas.' 'On the Columbia between the Priest's and Ross Rapids.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 233; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. 'Piscaous. Sur la petite rivière de ce nom à l'Ouest de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335.

The Shamoynumacks live on the banks of the Columbia, at Priest Rapids, near the mouth of the Umatilla. Thirty miles distant up the river are the Kewaughtohenemachs. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 134, 137.

'The Mithouies are located on the west side of the Columbia River, from the mouth of the Okanagan down to the Wonatchee, and includes the country drained by the Mithouie, Lake Chelan, and Entecatook Rivers.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23.

'The Isle de Pierres, whose tribal name is Linkinse, are located on the east and south side of the Col. Riv. from Grand Coulée down to Priests' Rapids, which includes the peninsula made by the great bend of the Col.' *Ib.*

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY is situated immediately south of the Salish. Only six of the eight nations mentioned below have been included in the Family by other authors. 'The country occupied by them extends from the Dalles of the Columbia to the Bitter-Root mountains, lying on both sides of the Columbia and upon the Kooskooskie and Salmon Forks of Lewis' and Snake River, between that of the Selish family on the north, and of the Snakes on the south.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'The first and more northern Indians of the interior may be denominated the Shahaptan Family, and comprehends three tribes; the Shahaptan, or Nez Percés of the Canadians; the Kliketat, a scion from the Shahaptans who now dwell near Mount Rainier, and have advanced toward the falls of the Columbia; and the Okanagan, who inhabit the upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Hale's map, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 197, divides the territory among the Nez Percés, Walla-Wallas, Waiilaptu, and Molele. 'The Indians in this district (of the Dalles) are Dog River, Wascos, Tyicks, Des Chutes, John Day, Utilla, Cayuses, Walla-Walla, Nez Percés, Mountain Snakes and Bannacks.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1859, p. 435.

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'The different tribes attached to Fort Nez Percés, and who formerly went by that cognomen, are the Shamooinaugh, Skamnamminaugh, E'yackimah, Ispipewhumaugh, and Inaspetsum. These tribes inhabit the main north branch above the Forks. On the south branch are the Palletto Pallas, Shawhaapten or Nez Percés proper, Pawluch, and Cosispa tribes. On the main Columbia, beginning at the Dallas, are the Necootimeigh, Wisscopam, Wisswhams, Wayyampos, Lowhim, Sawpaw, and Youmatalla bands.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 185–6. Cathlakahikits, at the rapids of Columbia river, N. side; Chippanchickchicks, 'N. side of Columbia river, in the long narrows, a little below the falls.' Hellwits, 'at the falls of Columbia river;' Ithkyemamits, 'on Columbia river, N. side near Chippanchickchicks;' Yehah, 'above the rapids.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 368–70.

The *Nez Percés* 'possess the country on each side of the Lewis or Snake River, from the Peloose to the Wapticacoes, about a hundred miles—together with the tributary streams, extending, on the east, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 551. 'On both sides of the Kooskooskia and north fork of Snake river.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416; and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 217. 'A few bands of the Nez Percés Indians occupy the Salmon river and the Clearwater.' *Thompson*, in *Id.*, p. 282. 'The Nez Percés country is bounded west by the Palouse river and the Tucannon; on the north by the range of mountains between Clear Water and the Coeur d'Alene; east by the Bitter Root mountains; on the south they are bounded near the line dividing the two Territories.' *Craig*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 353. The Buffalo, a tribe of the Nez Percés, winter in the Bitter Root Valley. *Owen*, in *Id.*, 1859, p. 424. 'Upper waters and mountainous parts of the Columbia. *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. 'Country lying along Lewis river and its tributaries from the eastern base of the Blue Mountains to the Columbia.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 55. Nez Percés or Sahaptins, 'on the banks of the Lewis Fork or Serpent River.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 'Chohoptins, or Nez-Percés,....on the banks of Lewis River.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oga.*, p. 30. 'The Lower Nez Percés range upon the Wayleeway, Immahah, Yenghies, and other of the streams west of the mountains.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Some Flatheads live along the Clearwater River down to below its junction with the Snake. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 212. Country 'drained by the Kooskooskie, westward from the Blackfoot country, and across the Rocky Mountains.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, p. 533. 'Près du fort de ce nom, à la jonction des deux branches du fleuve.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Junction of Snake and Clearwater. *Parker's Explor. Tour, Map.* Chopunnish. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 331, and map. Copunnish. *Bulfinch's Oregon*, p. 144. 'The Nez-Percés are divided into two classes, the Nez-Percés proper, who inhabit the mountains, and the Polonches, who inhabit the plain country about the mouth of the Snake River.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. Chopunnish, 'on Lewis river below the entrance of the Kooskooskee, on both sides.' 'On the Kooskooskee river below the forks, and on Cotter's creek.' Bands of the Chopunnish: Pelloatpallah, Kimmooenim, Yeletpoo, Willewah, Soyennom. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

101 131 The *Palouse*, or 'the Palus, usually written Paloose, live between the Columbia and the Snake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vi. 'The Peloose tribe has a stream called after it which empties into Lewis River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. Upon the Peloose River. 'Entrance of Great Snake River and surrounding country.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105, 245. 'Properly a part of the Nez Percés. Their residence is along the Nez Percé river and up the Pavilion.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. In three bands; at the mouth of the Pelouse River; on the north bank of Snake River, thirty miles below the Pelouse; and at the mouth of the Snake River. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 222–3, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 150–1. Palouse, or Pelouse, 'reside on the banks of the Palouse and Snake rivers.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-Percés .. elle habite les bords des deux rivières des Nez-percés et du Pavilion.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. Selloatpallah, north of the Snake, near its confluence with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Same as the Sewatpallia. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Walla-Wallas* 'occupy the country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'A number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river to a little east of the Peluse.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 402. 'Are on a small stream which falls into the Columbia near Fort Nez-percés.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'Inhabit the country about the river of the same name, and range some distance below along the Columbia.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. 'Upon the banks of the Columbia, below the mouth of the Lewis Fork are found the Walla-wallas.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, p. 535. 'Oualla-Oualla, au-dessus du fort des Nez Percés.' *Lefras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Under this term are embraced a number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river, to a little east of the Pelouse; as also the Klikatáts and Yakamas, north of the former.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 'On both sides of the Columbia river between Snake river and Hudson Bay fort, Walla-Walla.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374. Walla Wallapum. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244-7. 'Les Walla-walla habitent, sur la rivière du même nom, l'un des tributaires de la Colombie, et leur pays s'étend aussi le long de ce fleuve.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. Wollaw Wollah. South side of the Snake, at junction with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Wollaolla and Wollawalla, 'on both sides of Col., as low as the Muscleshell rapid, and in winter pass over to the Taptul river.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 369–70. 'Country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Walawaltz nation about the junction of the Snake and Columbia. On Walla Walle River. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 294–8. 'On both banks of the Columbia, from the Blue Mountains to the Dalles.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 151. Wallah Wallah. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 142. 'About the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, pp. 143, 151. Wallawallahs, 'reside along the lower part of the Walla Walla, the low bottom of the Umatilla and the Columbia, from the mouth of Lewis River for one hundred miles south.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 58, 124. 'On the borders of

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

the Wallahwallah and Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 3[illegible]. 101

The Sciatogas and Toustchipas live on Canoe River (Tukanon ?), and the Enotalla (Touchet ?), the Akaitchis 'sur le Big-river,' (Columbia). *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., pp. 74–8. The Sciatogas 'possède le pays borné au sud-est par la Grande-Plaine; au nord, par le Lewis-River; à l'ouest par la Columbia; au sud par l'Oualamat.' *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 42. 131

The *Cayuses* extend from John Day River eastward to Grande Ronde Valley. The Cayuse, Cailloux, Waiilatpu, 'country south of the Sahaptin and Wallawalla. Their head-quarters are on the upper part of Wallawalla River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 214, map, p. 197. 'The country belonging to the Cayuse is to the south of and between the Nez Perces and Walla-Wallas, extending from the Des Chutes, or Wanwanwi, to the eastern side of the Blue mountains.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 218; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. 'On the west side of the Blue mountains and south of the Columbia river.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'Occupy a portion of the Walla-Walla valley.' *Dennison*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 374; *Cain*, in *Id.*, 1859, pp. 413–14. 'À l'ouest des Nez-perces sont les Kayuses.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. The Kayouse dwell upon the Utalla or Emnutilly River. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 122. 'West of the Nez Percés.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 309, and map. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 30. 'Kayouses. Près du grand détour de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Waiilatpu, Molele, called also Willetpoos, Cayuse, 'western Oregon, south of the Columbia river.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 199; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Caignas 'inhabit the country bordering on Wallawalla river and its tributaries, the Blue mountains and Grand round.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54–6. Wyeilat or Kyoose, country to the south of Walla Walla. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–5. The Skyuses 'dwell about the waters of the Wayleeway and the adjacent country.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 288.

The Willewah 'reside on the Willewah river, which falls into the Lewis river on the S.W. side, below the forks.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. In Grande Ronde Valley. *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The Umatillas 'live near the junction of the Umatilla and Columbia rivers.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 97. Umatallow River and country extending thence westward to Dalles. *Tolmie*, in *Id.*, p. 245. 'The Utillas occupy the country along the river bearing that name.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374.

The Wahowpum live 'on the N. branch of the Columbia, in different bands from the Pishquitpahs; as low as the river Lapage; the different bands of this nation winter on the waters of Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. On John Day's River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Wascos* include all the tribes between the Cascade Range and John Day River, south of the Columbia. 'They are known by the name of Wasco Indians, and they call their country around the Dallas, Wascopam. They claim the country extending from the cascades up to the falls of the

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

101 Columbia, the distance of about fifty miles.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 159. 'The
131 Wascos occupy a small tract of country near to and adjoining the Dalles.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 372. On both sides of the Columbia about the Dalles are the Wascopams *Map*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200. Eneshur, Echeloots, Chillukkitequaw and Sinaeshop occupy the territory, on *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370. The Tchipantchicktchick, Cathlassis, Ilttekaimamita, and Tchelouits about the Dalles. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 26; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

'The residence of the Molele is (or was) in the broken and wooded country about Mounts Hood and Vancouver.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p 214. The Mollales have their home in the Willamette Valley. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492.

'The Tairtla, usually called Taigh, belong....to the environs of the Des-Chutes River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii.

'The Des Chutes....formerly occupied that section of country between the Dalles and the Tyich river.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 373.

'The Tyichs....formerly occupied the Tyich valley and the country in its vicinity, which lies about 30 miles south of Fort Dalles.' *Ib.*

'The John Day Rivers occupy the country in the immediate vicinity of the river bearing that name.' *Ib.*

'The Dog River, or Cascade Indians reside on a small stream called Dog river, which empties into the Columbia river, about half way between the Cascades and Dalles.' *Id.*, p. 371. The Cascades dwell 'on the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143.

The *Yakimas* occupy the valley of the Yakima River and its branches. 'The upper Yakimas occupy the country upon the Wenass and main branch of the Yakima, above the forks; the Lower upon the Yakima and its tributaries, below the forks and along the Columbia from the mouth of the Yakima to a point three miles below the Dalles.' *Robie*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 350. Three bands, Wishhams, Clickahut, and Skien, along the Columbia. *Id.*, p. 352. 'The Pahwanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas, inhabit the Yakama River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Lewis and Clarke's Chanwappan, Shaltattes, Squamaroes, Skaddals, and Chimnahpum, on the Yakima River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. The Yakimas 'are divided into two principal bands, each made up of a number of villages, and very closely connected; one owning the country on the Nahchess and Lower Yakima, the other are upon the Wenass and main branch above the forks.' *Id.*, p. 407. Yackamans, northern banks of the Columbia and on the Yackamans river. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. On the Yakima. *Hale's Ethnog., U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'South of the Long Rapids, to the confluence of Lewis' river with the Columbia, are the Yookoomans.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. Pishwanwapum (Yakima), in Yakimaw or Eyakems Valley. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7. Called Stobahaddat by the Sound Indians. *Id.*, p. 245.

The Chimnapums are 'on the N.W. side of Col. river, both above and below the entrance of Lewis' r. and the Taptul r.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. The 'Chumnapums and Chanwappans are between the

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Cascade Range and the north branch of the Columbia.' *Nicolay's Oga. Ter.*, p. 143. 101

The Pisquitpahs, 'on the Muscleshell rapids, and on the N. side of the Columbia, to the commencement of the high country; this nation winter on the waters of the Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370. 131

The Sokulks dwell north of the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351, and map; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. At Priest Rapids. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Kliketats* live in the mountainous country north of the Cascades, on both sides of the Cascade Range, and south of the Yakimas. Klikatats 'inhabit, properly, the valleys lying between Mounts St. Helens and Adams, but they have spread over districts belonging to other tribes, and a band of them is now located as far south as the Umpqua.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 403. 'Roilroilpam is the Klikatat country, situated in the Cascade mountains north of the Columbia and west of the Yakamas.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Wander in the wooded country about Mount St. Helens.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'In the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 113. Klikatats. 'Au-dessus du fort des Nez-Percés.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'The Kliketat, a scion from the Sahaptans, who now dwell near Mount Rainier and have advanced towards the falls of the Columbia.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. On *Lewis and Clarke's Map* the Kliketat territory is occupied by the Chanwappan, Shallatos, Squamaros, Skaddels, Shahalas. Also in *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Whulwhypum or Kliketat, 'in the wooded and prairie country between Vancouver and the Dalles.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

The Weyehhoo live on the north side of the Columbia, near Chusattes River. (Kliketat.) *Gass' Jour.*, p. 288.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

121/131 Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

101/173 All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

122/115 [1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[7]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[7]Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

PREFACE

The present paper represents the culmination of ten years of intermittent work in the Plateau. During that time every group in the area has been visited, though in some cases for brief periods only. Some of the work has been done in pursuance of general ethnography, some in the investigation of special problems. Most of the field work has been sponsored by the University of Washington. 114

A considerable amount of new material is included here, much of which was obtained for the specific purposes of the discussion. This includes material from the Carrier, Chilcotin, Shuswap, Lillooet, Lower Thompson, Lakes, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Yakima, Tenino, Umatilla, and Cayuse. Where objective cultural data are presented in the following pages without footnote references, the source is original. [101]

Some of these data were gathered in conjunction with the recording of culture element lists for the Department of Anthropology of the University of California. The funds for the element list work were provided by the University of California; the expenses of the concurrent investigations were borne by the University of Washington. The relative completeness of some of the data in this paper is in no small degree the result of the extensive scope of the element list studies, and of fruitful investigations based upon suggestions thereby obtained. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the close cooperation and kindly encouragement of Dr A. L. Kroeber throughout this work. 122

I wish to extend sincere thanks to Dr Leslie Spier for his ever generous assistance and valued counsel. I am indebted to Dr Diamond Jenness for the use of his enlightening manuscript on Carrier religion. Informal conversations with Dr Irving Goldman furnished many useful hints for general orientation of Carrier culture. Dr George Peter Murdock kindly provided information from his field notes on the Tenino.

VERNE F. RAY

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

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4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.[5]

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DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matılam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;[6] reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino[7] enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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[5] This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

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The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

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Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse–half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla–Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

[6] This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

[7] The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[83] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[83] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The second sub-type is characteristic of the western Plateau of Canada (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanogan, Southern Okanogan). Here the band is merely one unit of an expanded autonomous local group. Instead of the tiniest settlements maintaining strict independence, as among the Sanpoil, a small number within a relatively small range join together in a mutually advantageous union. In this case the group is looked upon in the same light as a large village. It is essentially a union of domestic and peacetime order. Chieftanship is central; if a member village needs a measure of strictly local control, the officer is a head-man, not a chief. The group is not looked upon as a union, but as a unit. Even among the Sanpoil the germs of this organization can be seen. Although a village of but two or three houses is theoretically strictly independent, with its own chief and group name, there is some modification of this in practice. Such a settlement sometimes sends representatives to the assembly of the nearest large town and solicits advice from the chief of that town. In such a case the small group does not recognize a chief, but names a head-man. Under this arrangement, however, the actions of the large village are never binding upon the other. Decisions which are thought wise are respected, others ignored.

The Southern Okanogan illustrates well the expanded autonomous local group. Four independent bands are recognized, each with its chief and small local territory. A man moves freely from one village to another within the band. Sharp distinctions are made between one band and another, especially where dialectical differences exist. This is true even within limited areas along the Okanogan River. These distinctions are purely political, however, not social or ethnic.[16] This type of band organization is surely a local development upon an earlier pattern now retained only by the peripheral Tenino, Sekani, and the internally peripheral Sanpoil.

Lines of Demarcation and Territorial Rights

The exactitude with which boundaries are drawn varies greatly, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Where the village is the political unit boundaries are automatically exact so far as the settlements themselves are concerned, but intervening and tributary territory must be divided arbitrarily, or be used in common. In the typical organization of the Plateau, territorial segmentation is highly

[16] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 73 ff.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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specific along river courses, but hunting territory is invariably used in common by a number of villages or small bands. An area may be frequented more or less exclusively by a larger band but this is a matter of convenience rather than principle and does not particularly affect the specificity of boundaries.

The trans-river boundaries are quite precise in all cases. This is more or less inevitable since villages are small and situated close together. The actual line of division is seldom geographically intermediate, but is determined with regard to fishing grounds. Each village is associated with one or more of these grounds, depending upon the size of the village and the productivity of available fishing sites. Permanent villages are located with regard to topography, fuel supply, and winter warmth; therefore fishing sites may or may not be near by. Hunting and gathering grounds, on the other hand, cannot be so neatly parcelled out. It would be naturally impossible for each of many small villages to have a specific hunting territory and yet, whether partially cause or only effect, the political attitudes toward fishing territorial rights and hunting territorial rights differ essentially one from the other, as shown by actual organization.

It must be emphasized at this point that these distinctions and differences are largely formal and structural, not economically functional. A boundary is a conceptual thing, not a physical barrier. Although a particular fishing station "belongs" to a particular village, any friendly person, either acquaintance or stranger, is welcome to use it. But the village with territorial rights over the station is quite definitely the visitor's host. In the use of hunting territory no such host is recognized if the man is a member of the ethnic group; he is simply exercising his right.

These remarks apply to all of the Plateau groups recognizing local autonomy except the Athabascans on the north, particularly the Chilcotin and Sekani. Among these peoples mobile bands replace fixed villages and a considerable territory is required by each. In consequence hunting territory comes to be of primary importance and it is not surprising that each band recognizes specific territorial rights in this respect. Jenness states unequivocally that each of the Sekani bands possesses its own hunting territory.[17] Among the Carrier, large villages often hold specific territory. The mere recognition of such territorial rights is

[17] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

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Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

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All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

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[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

131 See entire source, category 116.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

101 131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described — to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects — and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

000 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441–2, 504, 523–4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 196; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 131 181 197 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan....speak kindred dialects.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhâpmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicute-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Maj.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Om. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koctenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 - Plateau

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inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alêne*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

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[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Percés, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwâter of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitsqish*, and Coeur d'Alène, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiaripi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudières*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

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[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah, Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. [304] [97] [177]

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wăl-lă-Wăl-lă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 365. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. [361]

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pahawanwappam lands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

101 between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former
131 in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[124] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

141 The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many
147 tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

101 *dosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Roil-roil-pam, is the Klikatat country.' 'Its meaning
131 is "the Mouse country."' *Id.* The Yakima valley is a great national rendezvous for these and surrounding nations. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 19, 21. Kliketats, meaning robbers, was first the name given to the Whulwhypums, and then extended to all speaking the same language. For twenty-five
[361] years before 1854 they overran the Willamette Valley, but at that time were forced by government to retire to their own country. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7.

[124] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

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000 Plains.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Kalapuyas, above the falls of the Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 36. '50 miles from the mouth of the Wallaumut, W. side.' *Morse's Repl.*, p. 368. Vule Puyas, Valley of the Willamette. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81.

The *Clackamas* are on the 'Clackama River.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'Clakemas et Kaoulis, sur le Ouallamet et la rivière Kaoulis.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Valley of the Clakamus and the Willamuta Falls.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 81. Klackamas, 'three miles below the falls.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 144. Clackamis. *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 84. Clarkamees. *Morse's Repl.*, p. 372. Clackamus. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.*

The *Mollales* are found in 'Willamettee Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492. 'At the mouth of the Wallamet, and the Wapatoo Islands. *Tucker's Oregon*, p. 71. 'Upon the west side of the Willamette and opposite Oregon City.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 84.

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THE SHUSHWAP FAMILY comprises all the inland tribes of British Columbia, south of lat. 52° 30'.

The *Atnahs*, Strangers, Niccoutamuch, or Shushwaps proper, inhabit the Fraser and Thompson valleys. 'At Spuzzum....a race very different both in habits and language is found. These are the Nicoutamuch, or Nicoutameens, a branch of a widely-extended tribe. They, with their cognate septs, the Atnahs, or Shuswapmuch, occupy the Frazer River from Spuzzum to the frontier of that part of the country called by the Hudson Bay Company New Caledonia, which is within a few miles of Fort Alexandria.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296. 'Shushwaps of the Rocky Mountains inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of Jasper House, and as far as Tête Jaune Cache on the western slope. They are a branch of the great Shushwap nation who dwell near the Shushwap Lake and grand fork of the Thompson River in British Columbia.' Thompson River and Lake Kamloops. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, pp. 241, 335. 'On the Pacific side, but near the Rocky Mountains, are the Shoushwaps who, inhabiting the upper part of Frazer's River, and the north fork of the Columbia.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'The Shooshaps live below the Sinpauelish Indians.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'The Shushwaps possess the country bordering on the lower part of Frazer's River, and its branches.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. The Atnahs or Soushwap, 'live in the country on the Fraser's and Thompson's Rivers.' 'They were termed by Mackenzie the Chin tribe.' (See p. 251, note 141 of this vol.) *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427; *Buschmann, Brit. Nordamer.*, p. 320. Shooshaps, south of the Sinpavelist. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50-1. 'The Atnah, or Chin Indian country extends about one hundred miles,' from Fort Alexander. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 361. Shooshewaps inhabit the region of the north bend of the Columbia, in 52°. Atnahs, in the region of the Fraser and Thompson rivers. *Macdonald's Lectures on B. C.*, p. 10; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27. 'The Shewhapmuch (Atnahs of Mackenzie)....occupy the banks of Thompson's River; and along Frazer's River from the Rapid village, twenty miles below Alexandria,

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to the confluence of these two streams. Thence to near the falls the tribe bears the name of Nicutemuch.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76. 101 131

'The Stta Llimuh, natives of Anderson Lake, speak a dialect of the Shuswap language.' Skowhomish, in the same vicinity. *McKay*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. ii., p. 32.

'The Loquilt Indians have their home in the winter on Lake Anderson, and the surrounding district, whence they descend to the coast in Jervis Inlet in the summer.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 299.

The Kamloops dwell about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Okanagan. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 156.

The Clunsus are east of Fraser River, between Yale and latitude 50°; Skowtous, on the fiftieth parallel south of Lake Kamloops and west of Lake Okanagan; Sockatcheenum, east of Fraser and north of 51°. *Bancroft's Map of Pac. States.*

The *Kootenais* live in the space bounded by the Columbia River, Rocky Mountains, and Clarke River. The Kitunaha, Coutanies, or Flatbows, 'wander in the rugged and mountainous tract enclosed between the two northern forks of the Columbia. The Flat-bow River and Lake also belong to them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 204–5, map, p. 297. 'Inhabit the country extending along the foot of the Rocky mountains, north of the Flatheads, for a very considerable distance, and are about equally in American and in British territory.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. Kootoonais, 'on McGillivray's River, the Flat Bow Lake, etc.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Kootonais, on 'or about the fiftieth parallel at Fort Kootonie, east of Fort Colville.' *Simpson's Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 138. 'Between the Rocky Mountains, the Upper Columbia and its tributary the Killuspehn or Pend'oreille, and watered by an intermediate stream called the Kootanais River is an angular piece of country peopled by a small, isolated tribe bearing the same name as the last-mentioned river, on the banks of which they principally live.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. The lands of the Cottonois 'lie immediately north of those of the Flatheads.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 70. Kutanàe, Kútani, Kitunaha, Kutneha, Coutanies, Flatbows, 'near the sources of the Mary River, west of the Rocky Mountains.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 98. 'Inhabit a section of country to the north of the Ponderas, along M'Gillivray's river.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Koutanies ou Arcs-Plats, Près du fort et du lac de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'In the Kootanie Valley.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 178. Kootonays, south of the Shuahwaps. *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 44. 'Great longitudinal valley' of the Kootanie river. *Hector*, in *Id.*, p. 27. 'The Tobacco Plains form the country of the Kootanies.' *Blakiston*, in *Id.*, p. 73. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oyn.*, p. 30. Kootannis, 'angle between the Saelisa lands and the eastern heads of the Columbia.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 79. About the river of the same name, between the Columbia and Rocky Mountains. *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 143. A band called Sinatcheggs on the upper Arrow Lake. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. The Kootenais were perhaps the Tushepaws of Lewis and Clarke.

The *Tushepaws* are 'a numerous people of four hundred and fifty tents, residing on the heads of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and some of

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them lower down the latter river.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 321, and map; *Bulfinch's Om.*, p. 134. 'On a N. fork of Clarke's River.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Ootlashoots, Micksucksealton (Pend d'Oreilles?), Hohilpos (Flatheads?), branches of the Tushepaws. *Id.*; and *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* The Tushepaw nation might as correctly be included in the Salish family or omitted altogether. According to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417, they were the Kootenais.

The *Okanagans*, or Okinakanes, 'comprise the bands lying on the river of that name, as far north as the foot of the great lake. They are six in number, viz: the Tekunratum at the mouth; Konekonep, on the creek of that name; Kluckhaitkwee, at the falls; Kinakanes, near the forks; and Milaketkun, on the west fork. With them may be classed the N'Pockle, or Sans Puelles, on the Columbia river, though these are also claimed by the Spokanes. The two bands on the forks are more nearly connected with the Schwogelpi than with the ones first named.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 237, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. Oakinackens, Priests' Rapids, northward over 500 miles, and 100 miles in width, to the Shewhaps, branching out into 12 tribes, as follows, beginning with the south: 'Skamoynumachs, Kewaughtchenunaughs, Pisscows, Incomecanétook, Tuillane, Intiétook, Battlelemuleemauch, or Meatwho, Inspellum, Sinpohellechach, Sinwhoyelppetook, Samilkanuigh and Okinacken, which is nearly in the centre.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–90. 'On both sides the Okanagan River from its mouth up to British Columbia, including the Sennelkameen River.' *Ross*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'Près du fort de ce nom.' *Mofras, Explor.* tom. ii., p. 335. 'On the Okanagan and Piscour Rivers.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. 'Composed of several small bands living along the Okinakane river, from its confluence with the Columbia to Lake Okinakane....A majority of the tribe live north of the boundary line.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'Columbia Valley.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 490. Northeast and west of the Shoopshaps. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 51. Junction of the Okanagan and Columbia. *Parker's Map.* 'Upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Principal family called Conconulps about 9 miles up stream of the same name. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–90. The Similkameen live on S. river, and 'are a portion of the Okanagan tribe.' *Palmer*, in *B. Col. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 85. The Okanagans, called Calsanim by Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Cutsahnim, on the Columbia above the Sokulks, and on the northern branches of the Taptul. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372.

THE SALISH FAMILY includes all the inland tribes between 49° and 47°. The Salish, Saalis, Selish, or Flatheads, 'inhabit the country about the upper part of the Columbia and its tributary streams, the Flathead, Spokan, and Okanagan Rivers. The name includes several independent tribes or bands, of which the most important are the Salish proper, the Kullespelm, the Soayalpi, the Tsakaitsitlin, and the Okinakan.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'The Saeliss or Shewhapmuch race, whose limits may be defined by the Rocky Mountains eastward; on the west the line of Frazer's river from below Alexandria to Kequeloose, near the Falls, in about

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latitude 49° 50′; northward by the Carrier offset of the Chippewyans; and south by the Sahaptins or Nez Percés of Oregon.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 73. 'From Thompson's River other septs of this race—the Shuswaps, Skowtous, Okanagans, Spokans, Skoielpoi (of Colville), Pend'oreilles, and Coeurs d'Aleines—occupy the country as far as the Flathead Passes of the Rocky Mountains, where the Saelies or Flatheads form the eastern portion of the race.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 296-7. 'About the northern branches of the Columbia.' *Greenhow's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 30; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. Tribes mentioned in *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, and map: Tushepaw (Kootenai), Hopilpo (Flathead), Mickgucksealtom (Pend d'Oreilles), Wheelpo, (Chualpays), Sarlisto and Sketsomish (Spokanes), Hehighenimmo (Sans Poils), according to *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Repl.*, vol. i., p. 417. See *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 55. 'Between the two great branches of the Columbia and the Rocky Mountains are only five petty tribes: the Kootanais and Selish, or Flatheads, at the foot of the mountains, and the Pointed Hearts, Pend d'Oreilles, and Spokanes lower down.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 190. 'Divided into several tribes, the most important of which are the Selishes, the Kullespelms, the Sonyalpis, the Tsakaïtsitlins, and the Okinakans.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55–6.

The *Flatheads*, or Salish proper, reside on the river, valley, and lake of the same name. 'Inhabit St. Mary's or the Flathead Valley and the neighborhood of the lake of the same name.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415, and in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207. 'Occupying the valleys between the Bitter Root and Rocky mountains.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'South of the Flathead Valley on the Bitter Root.' *Sully*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 192. St. Mary's River. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. 'East and south-east (of the Coeurs d'Alène) and extends to the Rocky Mountains.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 311, and map. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. Saalis ou faux Têtes-Plates. Sur la rivière de ce nom au pied des Montagnes Rocheuses. *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Along the foot of the mountains.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 213. 'In New Caledonia, W. of the Rocky Mountains.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 371. Bitter Root valley. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455, 1865, p. 246; *Nicoloy's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Hopilpo, of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. 'Ils occupent le pays compris entre le Lewis River et la branche nord-ouest ou la Columbia, et borné en arrière par les Monts-Rocailleux. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43.

The *Pend d'Oreilles* occupy the vicinity of the lake of the same name. 'On the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavasseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. 'At Clark's Fork.' *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 490. Lower Pend d'Oreilles, 'in the vicinity of the St. Ignatius Mission.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Kalispelms or Pend d'Oreilles of the Lower Lake, inhabit the country north of the Coeur d'Alenes and around the Kalispelm lake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Calispels, or Calispellum, 'on Fool's Prairie at the head of Colville Valley, and on both sides of the Pend d'Oreille River, from its mouth to the Idaho line, but principally at the Camas Prairie.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, pp. 22, 25, 192. Situated to the east of Fort Colville, adjoining the Kootonais on their eastern border. *Simp-*

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son's Overland Journ., vol. i., p. 146. 'Pend'oreilles on Kellespem. Au-dessous du fort Colville.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Skatkmlschi, or Pend d'Oreilles of the upper lake. A tribe who, by the consent of the Selish, occupy jointly with them the country of the latter. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Kullas-Palus, 'on the Flathead or Clarke River.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82. Ponderas, 'north of Clarke's river and on a lake which takes its name from the tribe.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312 and map; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 32. The Pend'oreilles were probably the Micksuckseaitom of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

Tribes baptized by De Smet: Thlishatkmuche, Stietshoi, Zingomenes, Shaistche, Shuyelpi, Tschilsolomi, Siur Poils, Tinabsoti, Yinkaceous, Yejak-oun, all of same stock.

Tribes mentioned by Morse as living in the vicinity of Clarke River: Coopspellar, Lahama, Lartielo, Hihighenimmo, Wheelpo, Skeetsomish. *Rept.*, p. 372.

The *Coeurs d'Aléne* 'live about the lake which takes its name from them.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 209. East of the Spokanes, at headwaters of the Spokane River. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'The Skitswish or Coeur d'Alenes, live upon the upper part of the Coeur d'Alene river, above the Spokanes, and around the lake of the same name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 415. Their mission is on the river ten miles above the lake and thirty miles from the mountains. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 216. Stietshoi, or Coeur d'Alenes on the river, and about the lake. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map, vol. v., p. 490. Pointed Hearts, 'shores of a lake about fifty miles to the eastward of Spokan House.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 150; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143; *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'St. Joseph's river.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49.

The *Colvilles* include the tribes about Kettle Falls, and the banks of the Columbia up to the Arrow Lakes. 'Colville valley and that of the Columbia river from Kettle Falls to a point thirty miles below.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 98. 'The Colvilles, whose tribal name is Swielpree, are located in the Colville Valley, on the Kettle River, and on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls down to the mouth of the Spokane.' *Winans*, in *Id.*, 1870, p. 22. Colvilles and Spokanes, 'near Fort Colville.' *Warre and Vavaseur*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 82.

The Lakes, 'whose tribal name is Senijextee, are located on both sides of the Columbia River, from Kettle Falls north to British Columbia.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. 'So named from their place of residence, which is about the Arrow Lakes.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 312. 'Les sauvages des Lacs ....résident sur le Lac-aux-flèches.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50.

The Chaudières, or Kettle Falls, reside 'about Colville.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. The village of Les Chaudières 'is situated on the north side just below the fall.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 358. Chaudières 'live south of the Lake Indians.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. 'Fort Colville is the principal ground of the Schwoyelpi or Kettle Falls tribe.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 413. 'The tribe in the vicinity (of Fort Colville) is known as the Chaudiere, whose territory reaches as far up as the Columbia Lakes.' *Simp-*

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son's *Overland Journ.*, vol. i., p. 151. 'Gens des Chaudières. Près du lac Schouchouap au-dessous des Dalles.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Called in their own language, Chualpays.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 308–9. 'Called Quiarlpi (Basket People).' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 472. The Chualpays called Wheelpo by Lewis and Clarke, and by Morse. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

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The *Spokanes* live on the Spokane river and plateau, along the banks of the Columbia from below Kettle Falls, nearly to the Okanagan. 'The Spokihnish, or Spokanes, lie south of the Schrooyelpi, and chiefly upon or near the Spokane river. The name applied by the whites to a number of small bands, is that given by the Coeur d'Alene to the one living at the forks. They are also called Sinkoman, by the Kootonies. These bands are eight in number: the Sinslihhooish, on the great plain above the crossings of the Coeur d'Alene river; the Sintootoolish, on the river above the forks; the Smahoomenaish (Spokehnish), at the forks, the Skaischilt'nish, at the old Chemakane mission; the Skecheramouse, above them on the Colville trail; the Schecetstish, the Sinpoilschne, and Sinspeelish, on the Columbia river; the last-named band is nearly extinct. The Sinpoilschne (N'pochle, or Sans Puelles) have always been included among the Okinakanes, though, as well as the Sinspeelish below them, they are claimed by the Spokanes. The three bands on the Columbia all speak a different language from the rest.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 230, 236; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 414–15. 'This tribe claim as their territory the country commencing on the large plain at the head of the Slawntehus—the stream entering the Columbia at Fort Colville; thence down the Spokane to the Columbia, down the Columbia half way to Fort Okinakane, and up the Spokane and Coeur d'Alene, to some point between the falls and the lake, on the latter.' *Id.*, p. 414. 'Inhabit the country on the Spokane river, from its mouth to the boundary of Idaho.' *Paige*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1865, p. 99. 'At times on the Spokane, at times on the Spokane plains.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'Principally on the plains.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 157. 'North-east of the Palooses are the Spokein nation.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310, and map. 'Au-dessous du fort Okanagam à l'Est.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Au nord-ouest des Palooses se trouve la nation des Spokanes.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. 'Have a small village at the entrance of their river, but their chief and permanent place of residence is about forty miles higher up .... where the Pointed-heart River joins the Spokan from the south-east.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 147. 'The Spokanes, whose tribal names are Sineequomenach, or Upper, Sintootoo, or Middle Spokamish, and Chekasschee, or Lower Spokanes, living on the Spokane River, from the Idaho line to its mouth.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23. Spokane, the Sarlilso and Sketsomish of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Sans Poils* (Hairless), or 'Sanpoils, which includes the Nespelum Indians, are located on the Columbia, from the mouth of the Spokane down to Grand Coulée (on the south of the Columbia), and from a point opposite the mouth of the Spokane down to the mouth of the Okanagan on the north side of the Columbia, including the country drained by the Sanpoil, and

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Nespeelum Creeks.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 22. Sinpoilish, west of the Columbia between Priest Rapids and Okanagan. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 200, map. Sinpauelish, west of the Kettle Falls Indians.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. 'Simponals. Près des grands rapides du Rio Colombia.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Sinpavelist, west of the Chaudières. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 50. Sinapoils, 'occupy a district on the northern banks of the Columbia, between the Spokan and Okinagan rivers.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 145. Hehighenimmo of Lewis and Clarke. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Pisquouse* inhabit the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. Piskwaus, or Piscous; 'name properly belongs to the tribe who live on the small river which falls into the Columbia on the west side, about forty miles below Fort Okanagan. But it is here extended to all the tribes as far down as Priest's Rapids.' The map extends their territory across the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210, and map, p. 197. Pisquouse, 'immediately north of that of the Yakamas.' 'On the Columbia between the Priest's and Ross Rapids.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 233; and *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 412. 'Piscaous. Sur la petite rivière de ce nom à l'Ouest de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335.

The Shamoynumacks live on the banks of the Columbia, at Priest Rapids, near the mouth of the Umatilla. Thirty miles distant up the river are the Kewaughtohenemachs. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 134, 137.

'The Mithouies are located on the west side of the Columbia River, from the mouth of the Okanagan down to the Wonatchee, and includes the country drained by the Mithouie, Lake Chelan, and Enteeatook Rivers.' *Winans*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1870, p. 23.

'The Isle de Pierres, whose tribal name is Linkinse, are located on the east and south side of the Col. Riv. from Grand Coulée down to Priests' Rapids, which includes the peninsula made by the great bend of the Col.' *Ib.*

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY is situated immediately south of the Salish. Only six of the eight nations mentioned below have been included in the Family by other authors. 'The country occupied by them extends from the Dalles of the Columbia to the Bitter-Root mountains, lying on both sides of the Columbia and upon the Kooskooskie and Salmon Forks of Lewis' and Snake River, between that of the Selish family on the north, and of the Snakes on the south.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'The first and more northern Indians of the interior may be denominated the Shahaptan Family, and comprehends three tribes; the Shahaptan, or Nez Percés of the Canadians; the Kliketat, a scion from the Shahaptans who now dwell near Mount Rainier, and have advanced toward the falls of the Columbia; and the Okanagan, who inhabit the upper part of Fraser's River and its tributaries.' *Seouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. Hale's map, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 197, divides the territory among the Nez Percés, Walla-Wallas, Waiilaptu, and Molele. 'The Indians in this district (of the Dalles) are Dog River, Wascos, Tyicks, Des Chutes, John Day, Utilla, Cayuses, Walla-Walla, Nez Percés, Mountain Snakes and Bannacks.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1859, p. 435.

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'The different tribes attached to Fort Nez Percés, and who formerly went by that cognomen, are the Shamooinaugh, Skamnaminaugh, E'yackimah, Isqipewhnnaugh, and Inaspetsum. These tribes inhabit the main north branch above the Forks. On the south branch are the Palletto Pallas, Shawhaapten or Nez Percés proper, Pawluch, and Cosispa tribes. On the main Columbia, beginning at the Dallas, are the Necootimeigh, Wisscopam, Wisswhams, Wayyampas, Lowhim, Sawpaw, and Youmatalla bands.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 185–6. Cathlakahikits, at the rapids of Columbia river, N. side; Chippanchickchicks, 'N. side of Columbia river, in the long narrows, a little below the falls.' Hellwits, 'at the falls of Columbia river;' Ithkyemanaits, 'on Columbia river, N. side near Chippanchickchicks;' Yehah, 'above the rapids.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 368–70.

The *Nez Percés* 'possess the country on each side of the Lewis or Snake River, from the Peloose to the Wapticacoes, about a hundred miles—together with the tributary streams, extending, on the east, to the foot of the Rocky Mountains.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv., p. 531. 'On both sides of the Kooskooskia and north fork of Snake river.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416; and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 217. 'A few bands of the Nez Percés Indians occupy the Salmon river and the Clearwater.' *Thompson*, in *Id.*, p. 282. 'The Nez Percés country is bounded west by the Palouse river and the Tucannon; on the north by the range of mountains between Clear Water and the Coeur d'Alene; east by the Bitter Root mountains; on the south they are bounded near the line dividing the two Territories.' *Craig*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 353. The Buffalo, a tribe of the Nez Perces, winter in the Bitter Root Valley. *Owen*, in *Id.*, 1859, p. 424. 'Upper waters and mountainous parts of the Columbia. *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. 'Country lying along Lewis river and its tributaries from the eastern base of the Blue Mountains to the Columbia.' *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 55. Nez Percés or Sahaptins, 'on the banks of the Lewis Fork or Serpent River.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 'Chohoptins, or Nez-Percés,....on the banks of Lewis River.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oga.*, p. 30. 'The Lower Nez Percés range upon the Wayleeway, Immahah, Yenghies, and other of the streams west of the mountains.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Some Flatheads live along the Clearwater River down to below its junction with the Snake. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 212. Country 'drained by the Kooskooskie, westward from the Blackfoot country, and across the Rocky Mountains.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, p. 533. 'Près du fort de ce nom, à la jonction des deux branches du fleuve.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Junction of Snake and Clearwater. *Parker's Explor. Tour, Map.* Chopunnish. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 331, and map. Copunnish. *Bulfinch's Oregon*, p. 144. 'The Nez-Percés are divided into two classes, the Nez-Percés proper, who inhabit the mountains, and the Polonches, who inhabit the plain country about the mouth of the Snake River.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. Chopunnish, 'on Lewis river below the entrance of the Kooskooskee, on both sides.' 'On the Kooskooskee river below the forks, and on Cotter's creek.' Bands of the Chopunnish: Pelloatpallah, Kimmooenim, Yeletpoo, Willewah, Soyennom. *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369.

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The *Palouse*, or 'the Palus, usually written Paloose, live between the Columbia and the Snake.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vi. 'The Peloose tribe has a stream called after it which empties into Lewis River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. Upon the Peloose River. 'Entrance of Great Snake River and surrounding country.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105, 245. 'Properly a part of the Nez Percés. Their residence is along the Nez Percé river and up the Pavilion.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. In three bands; at the mouth of the Pelouse River; on the north bank of Snake River, thirty miles below the Pelouse; and at the mouth of the Snake River. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 222–3, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 150–1. Palouse, or Pelouse, 'reside on the banks of the Palouse and Snake rivers.' *Mullan's Rept.*, pp. 18, 49. 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-Percés .. elle habite les bords des deux rivières des Nez-percés et du Pavilion.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31. Selloatpallah, north of the Snake, near its confluence with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Same as the Sewatpalla. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Walla-Wallas* 'occupy the country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'A number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river to a little east of the Peluse.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 402. 'Are on a small stream which falls into the Columbia near Fort Nez-percés.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'Inhabit the country about the river of the same name, and range some distance below along the Columbia.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 310. 'Upon the banks of the Columbia, below the mouth of the Lewis Fork are found the Walla-wallas.' *Brouneil's Ind. Races*, p. 535. 'Oualla-Oualla, au-dessus du fort des Nez Percés.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'Under this term are embraced a number of bands living usually on the south side of the Columbia, and on the Snake river, to a little east of the Pelouse; as also the Klikatats and Yakamas, north of the former.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 'On both sides of the Columbia river between Snake river and Hudson Bay fort, Walla-Walla.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374. Walla Wallapum. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244-7. 'Les Walla-walla habitent, sur la rivière du même nom, l'un des tributaires de la Colombie, et leur pays s'étend aussi le long de ce fleuve.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. Wollaw Wollah. South side of the Snake, at junction with the Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Map.* Wollaolla and Wollawalla, 'on both sides of Col., as low as the Muscleshell rapid, and in winter pass over to the Taptul river.' *Morse's Rept.*, pp. 369–70. 'Country south of the Columbia and about the river of that name.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Walawaltz nation about the junction of the Snake and Columbia. On Walla Walle River. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 294–8. 'On both banks of the Columbia, from the Blue Mountains to the Dalles.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 151. Wallah Wallah. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 142. 'About the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Oçn. Ter.*, pp. 143, 151. Wallawallahs, 'reside along the lower part of the Walla Walla, the low bottom of the Umatilla and the Columbia, from the mouth of Lewis River for one hundred miles south.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 58, 124. 'On the borders of

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the Wallahwallah and Columbia.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 3[illegible].

The Sciatogas and Toustchipas live on Canoe River (Tukanon ?), and the Enotalla (Touchet ?), the Akaitchis 'sur le Big-river,' (Columbia). *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., pp. 74–8. The Sciatogas 'possède le pays borné au sud-est par la Grande-Plaine; au nord, par le Lewis-River; à l'ouest par la Columbia; au sud par l'Oualamat.' *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 42.

The *Cayuses* extend from John Day River eastward to Grande Ronde Valley. The Cayuse, Cailloux, Waiilatpu, 'country south of the Sahaptin and Wallawalla. Their head-quarters are on the upper part of Wallawalla River.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 214, map, p. 197. 'The country belonging to the Cayuse is to the south of and between the Nez Perces and Walla-Wallas, extending from the Des Chutes, or Wanwanwi, to the eastern side of the Blue mountains.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 218; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 416. 'On the west side of the Blue mountains and south of the Columbia river.' *Thompson*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 282. 'Occupy a portion of the Walla-Walla valley.' *Dennison*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 374; *Cain*, in *Id.*, 1859, pp. 413–14. 'A l'ouest des Nez-perces sont les Kayuses.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 30. The Kayouse dwell upon the Utaila or Emnutilly River. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 122. 'West of the Nez Percés.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 309, and map. 'Rove through the regions of the Lewis branch.' *Greenhow's Hist. Oyn.*, p. 30. 'Kayouses. Près du grand détour de la Colombie.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. Waiilatpu, Molele, called also Willetpoos, Cayuse, 'western Oregon, south of the Columbia river.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 199; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. Caguas 'inhabit the country bordering on Wallawalla river and its tributaries, the Blue mountains and Grand round.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54–6. Wyilat or Kyoose, country to the south of Walla Walla. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–5. The Skyuses 'dwell about the waters of the Wayleeway and the adjacent country.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 288.

The Willewah 'reside on the Willewah river, which falls into the Lewis river on the S.W. side, below the forks.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. In Grande Ronde Valley. *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The Umatillas 'live near the junction of the Umatilla and Columbia rivers.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 97. Umatallow River and country extending thence westward to Dalles. *Tolmie*, in *Id.*, p. 245. 'The Utillas occupy the country along the river bearing that name.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 374.

The Wahowpum live 'on the N. branch of the Columbia, in different bands from the Pishquitpahs; as low as the river Lapage; the different bands of this nation winter on the waters of Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. On John Day's River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Wascos* include all the tribes between the Cascade Range and John Day River, south of the Columbia. 'They are known by the name of Wasco Indians, and they call their country around the Dallas, Wascopam. They claim the country extending from the cascades up to the falls of the

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Columbia, the distance of about fifty miles.' *Hines' Voy.*, p. 159. 'The Wascos occupy a small tract of country near to and adjoining the Dalles.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 372. On both sides of the Columbia about the Dalles are the Wascopams *Map*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 209. Eneshur, Echeloots, Chillukkitequaw and Sinaeshop occupy the territory, on *Lewis and Clarke's Map*; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370. The Tchipantchicktchick, Cathlassis, Ilttekaimamits, and Tchelouits about the Dalles. *Stuart*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 26; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

'The residence of the Molele is (or was) in the broken and wooded country about Mounts Hood and Vancouver.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p 214. The Mollales have their home in the Willamette Valley. *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 492.

'The Tairtla, usually called Taigh, belong....to the environs of the Des-Chutes River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii.

'The Des Chutes....formerly occupied that section of country between the Dalles and the Tyich river.' *Dennison*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 373.

'The Tyichs....formerly occupied the Tyich valley and the country in its vicinity, which lies about 30 miles south of Fort Dalles.' *Ib.*

'The John Day Rivers occupy the country in the immediate vicinity of the river bearing that name.' *Ib.*

'The Dog River, or Cascade Indians reside on a small stream called Dog river, which empties into the Columbia river, about half way between the Cascades and Dalles.' *Id.*, p. 371. The Cascades dwell 'on the river of that name.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143.

The *Yakimas* occupy the valley of the Yakima River and its branches. 'The upper Yakimas occupy the country upon the Wenass and main branch of the Yakima, above the forks; the Lower upon the Yakima and its tributaries, below the forks and along the Columbia from the mouth of the Yakima to a point three miles below the Dalles.' *Robie*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1857, p. 350. Three bands, Wishhams, Clickahut, and Skien, along the Columbia. *Id.*, p. 352. 'The Pahwanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas, inhabit the Yakama River.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. Lewis and Clarke's Chanwappan, Shaltattos, Squamaross, Skaddals, and Chimnahpum, on the Yakima River. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417. The Yakimas 'are divided into two principal bands, each made up of a number of villages, and very closely connected; one owning the country on the Nahchess and Lower Yakima, the other are upon the Wenass and main branch above the forks.' *Id.*, p. 407. Yackamans, northern banks of the Columbia and on the Yackamans river. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 143. On the Yakima. *Hale's Ethnog., U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'South of the Long Rapids, to the confluence of Lewis' river with the Columbia, are the Yookoomans.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 313. Pishwanwapum (Yakima), in Yakimaw or Eyakema Valley., *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7. Called Stobshaddat by the Sound Indians. *Id.*, p. 245.

The Chimnapums are 'on the N.W. side of Col. river, both above and below the entrance of Lewis' r. and the Taptul r.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370; *Lewis and Clarke's Map*. The 'Chunnapums and Chanwappans are between the

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Cascade Range and the north branch of the Columbia.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 143. 101

The Pisquitpahs, 'on the Muscleshell rapids, and on the N. side of the Columbia, to the commencement of the high country; this nation winter on the waters of the Taptul and Cataract rivers.' *Morse's Rept.*, p. 370. 131

The Sokulks dwell north of the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351, and map; *Morse's Rept.*, p. 369. At Priest Rapids. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 417.

The *Klikatats* live in the mountainous country north of the Cascades, on both sides of the Cascade Range, and south of the Yakimas. Klikatats 'inhabit, properly, the valleys lying between Mounts St. Helens and Adams, but they have spread over districts belonging to other tribes, and a band of them is now located as far south as the Umpqua.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 403. 'Roilroilpam is the Klikatat country, situated in the Cascade mountains north of the Columbia and west of the Yakamas.' *Gibbs*, in *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. vii. 'Wander in the wooded country about Mount St. Helens.' *Haie's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 213. 'In the vicinity of the mouth of the Columbia.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 113. Klikatats. 'Au-dessus du fort des Nez-Percés.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 335. 'The Kliketat, a scion from the Sahaptans, who now dwell near Mount Rainier and have advanced towards the falls of the Columbia.' *Scouler*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 225. On *Lewis and Clarke's Map* the Kliketat territory is occupied by the Chanwappan, Shallatos, Squamaros, Skaddels, Shabalas. Also in *Morse's Rept.*, p. 372. Whulwhypum or Kliketat, 'in the wooded and prairie country between Vancouver and the Dalles.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 245.

The Weyehhoo live on the north side of the Columbia, near Chusaitea River. (Kliketat.) *Gass' Jour.*, p. 288.

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133 ley floors. Eolian hills are common in this southern region as well, since the fine dry soil is easily carried by the strong constantly blowing winds. Also, the topography of the whole Columbia Basin has been modified further by minor uplifts since the lava was laid down.

The Okanogan Highlands in the northwestern portion of the area and the Selkirk range in the northeast are spurs of the Rocky mountains consisting largely of granitic and metamorphic formations. The mountains of the Highlands, 5000 and 6000 feet in elevation, have been gently rounded by glacial action and subsequent erosion. The Selkirks, which reach somewhat greater heights, are considerably more rugged and the valleys are narrower.

The Blue mountains in northeastern Oregon are composed chiefly of basalt with islands of older granite projecting. These granitic islands or steptoes are also found in southeastern Washington. The maximum elevation in the Blue mountains is about 6,000 feet.[8]

132 Meteorological data pertaining to the Basin is given in accompanying table (tab. 1).[9] It will be seen that great yearly temperature ranges together with low precipitation characterize the central or relatively low lying portion of the area, whereas the peripheral regions of greater altitude show a somewhat smaller temperature range and markedly greater precipitation. The geographical center of the area is hardly two hundred and fifty miles from the Pacific Ocean with its temperate moisture-laden winds but the Cascade mountains prove so effectual a barrier that the interior is little influenced. What little moisture is carried east of the Cascade divide is precipitated mostly on the eastern slope of the mountains. Thus the Kittitas villages on the upper Yakima river were subject to a yearly precipitation of about twenty-five inches whereas Wanapam villages near the mouth of the same river enjoyed but

133 [8]Edwin J. Saunders, "The Physical Geography of Washington," in *Journal of Geography*, XIV, 309-22; Nevin M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York, 1931), 210-70.

132 [9]Information furnished by courtesy of Dr. Albert L. Seeman, Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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TABLE 1.

METEOROLOGICAL DATA FOR TYPICAL STATIONS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

Territory	Station	Mean Monthly Temperature		Precipitation		
				Normal Monthly		Normal Annual
		July	Jan.	Nov.	Aug.	
Lakes	Revelstoke, B.C.	64	21	4.8	.6	40
Lakes	Northport, Wash.	68	23	2.3	.9	18
Lakes&Colville	Colville, Wash.	67	23	2.3	.7	16.5
Kalispel	Sandpoint, Id.	65	26	4.3	1.2	27.5
Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene, Id.	68	28	3.4	.6	25
Spokane	Spokane, Wash.	69	28	2.1	.6	16.5
Colville, Sanpoil, Lakes	Republic, Wash.	65	21	1.6	.9	15
Nespelem	Nespelem, Wash.	68	21	1.6	.5	15.5
Sanpoil	Wilbur, Wash.	66	22	1.8	.6	12.5
So. Okanogan	Omak, Wash.	74	22	1.4	.5	10.5
Chelan	Lakeside, Wash.	74	24	1.7	.3	12.5
Wenatchi	Wenatchee, Wash.	71	25	1.2	.3	9
Wenatchi	Leavenworth, Wn.	69	23	2.9	.4	20
Kittitas	Cle Elum, Wash.	65	26	4.7	.4	25.5
Kittitas	Ellensburg, Wash.	68	25	1.5	.2	9
Yakima	Rimrock, Wash.	64	26	4.2	.4	24.5
Yakima	Yakima, Wash.	71	27	.9	.2	8
Wanapam	Wahluke, Wash.	77	29	1	.3	6.5
Columbia	Ephrata, Wash.	77	25	1	.4	7.5
Palus	Hatton, Wash.	73	27	1.3	.4	9
Cayuse	Walla Walla, Wn.	74	33	2	.5	17
Umatilla	Umatilla, Ore.	75	33	1.2	.3	7.5

one-fourth that amount. Indeed within the confines of the Kittitas alone, at Ellensburg, twenty miles down-river from Cle Elum, the precipitation has dropped to less than ten inches. In Lakes territory extremes of forty inches at Revelstoke, B. C. (village no. 24) and sixteen and one-half inches at Colville, Washington (near villages nos. 1-4, 43) are found. In contrast to these variations is the relatively uniform annual precipitation of twenty-four to twenty-eight inches throughout most of the territory of the Coeur d'Alene and the Kalispel. A few Coeur d'Alene villages near Spokane received but fifteen inches. More striking is the meager six to fourteen inches noted throughout most of the territory of the Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Chelan, Columbia, Wanapam, Walula, Palus, Umatilla and Cayuse. A considerable amount of this precipitation falls in the form of snow which usually remains on the ground throughout the winter. Precipitation of

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132 ten inches or less may be classed as definitely arid, making for desert conditions.

Temperatures throughout the Columbia Basin are much more uniform, month for month, than precipitation. Characterizing the whole area, however, are extreme ranges from summer maximums to winter minimums. "The average annual range is between 40 and 50 degrees F. with winter temperatures about 20 to 30 degrees F. and summer temperatures from 65 to 80 degrees F. The extreme range for any one station is 140 degrees F. but temperatures as low as -36 degrees F. and as high as 115 degrees F. have been recorded at different stations. Temperatures as low as -20 degrees F. and as high as 100 degrees F. are common, but the cold and warm spells are of short duration and are not felt as much as the figures might indicate on account of the low humidity of the air."[10]

137 Four plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran, the Arid Transition, the Canadian and the Hudsonian, are represented in this area. Of these the first two are by far the most extensive and nearly all native villages were located in these zones. Hunting and gathering territories, however, extended into the Canadian and Hudsonian especially in peripheral regions. The Upper Sonoran is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau, while the Arid Transition characterizes the lower reaches of the surrounding mountains. Higher in the mountains is found the Canadian zone and more rarely the Hudsonian. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran in this region is the sagebrush *(Artemisia tridentata)*. Other prominent plants include rabbit brush *(Chrysothamnus nauseosus)*, antelope brush *(Purshia tridentata)* and dragon sagewort *(Artemisia dracunculus)*. The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass *(Agropyron spicatum)* and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine *(Pinus ponderosa)* forests. The bunchgrass prairies occupy narrow marginal strips near the mountains and shade into the pine forests as soon as the elevation becomes noticeable. The Cana-

[10]Saunders, 321.

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very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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its main channel. These dry canyons, particularly characteristic of the northern part of the province, are known as coulees. The greatest of these, the Grand Coulee, was cut by the river when the Okanogan glacier filled the upper Columbia valley at the "Big Bend". In the southern half, beyond the extent of the glaciers, the lava plateau has been eroded gradually by such rivers as the Deschutes, John Day, Umatilla, and Yakima, leaving gently rounded hills of considerable altitude above the val-

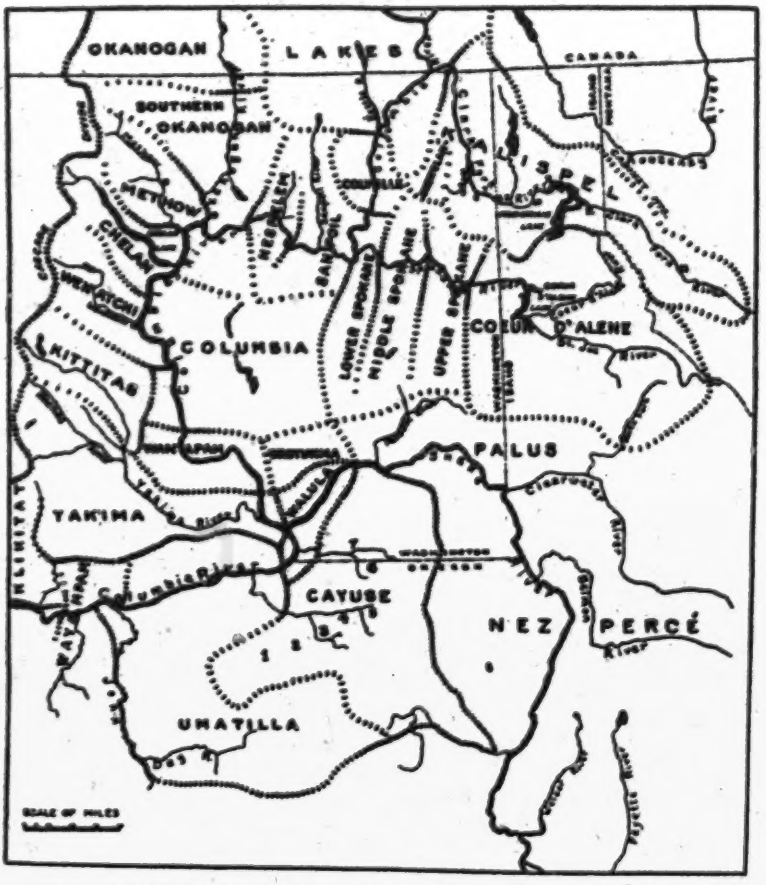

Figure 1. Native territorial distribution in the northern Plateau about 1850. (The numbers, indicating native villages and bands, are supplementary to the detailed maps following. See text.)

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ley floors. Eolian hills are common in this southern region as well, since the fine dry soil is easily carried by the strong constantly blowing winds. Also, the topography of the whole Columbia Basin has been modified further by minor uplifts since the lava was laid down.

The Okanogan Highlands in the northwestern portion of the area and the Selkirk range in the northeast are spurs of the Rocky mountains consisting largely of granitic and metamorphic formations. The mountains of the Highlands, 5000 and 6000 feet in elevation, have been gently rounded by glacial action and subsequent erosion. The Selkirks, which reach somewhat greater heights, are considerably more rugged and the valleys are narrower.

The Blue mountains in northeastern Oregon are composed chiefly of basalt with islands of older granite projecting. These granitic islands or steptoes are also found in southeastern Washington. The maximum elevation in the Blue mountains is about 6,000 feet.[8]

Meteorological data pertaining to the Basin is given in accompanying table (tab. 1).[9] It will be seen that great yearly temperature ranges together with low precipitation characterize the central or relatively low lying portion of the area, whereas the peripheral regions of greater altitude show a somewhat smaller temperature range and markedly greater precipitation. The geographical center of the area is hardly two hundred and fifty miles from the Pacific Ocean with its temperate moisture-laden winds but the Cascade mountains prove so effectual a barrier that the interior is little influenced. What little moisture is carried east of the Cascade divide is precipitated mostly on the eastern slope of the mountains. Thus the Kittitas villages on the upper Yakima river were subject to a yearly precipitation of about twenty-five inches whereas Wanapam villages near the mouth of the same river enjoyed but

[8] Edwin J. Saunders, "The Physical Geography of Washington," in *Journal of Geography*, XIV, 309-22; Nevin M. Fenneman, *Physiography of Western United States* (New York, 1931), 210-70.

[9] Information furnished by courtesy of Dr. Albert L. Seeman, Department of Geography, University of Washington.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

132 ten inches or less may be classed as definitely arid, making for desert conditions.

Temperatures throughout the Columbia Basin are much more uniform, month for month, than precipitation. Characterizing the whole area, however, are extreme ranges from summer maximums to winter minimums. "The average annual range is between 40 and 50 degrees F. with winter temperatures about 20 to 30 degrees F. and summer temperatures from 65 to 80 degrees F. The extreme range for any one station is 140 degrees F. but temperatures as low as -36 degrees F. and as high as 115 degrees F. have been recorded at different stations. Temperatures as low as -20 degrees F. and as high as 100 degrees F. are common, but the cold and warm spells are of short duration and are not felt as much as the figures might indicate on account of the low humidity of the air."[10]

137 Four plant life zones, the Upper Sonoran, the Arid Transition, the Canadian and the Hudsonian, are represented in this area. Of these the first two are by far the most extensive and nearly all native villages were located in these zones. Hunting and gathering territories, however, extended into the Canadian and Hudsonian especially in peripheral regions. The Upper Sonoran is typical of the Columbia plains or lava plateau, while the Arid Transition characterizes the lower reaches of the surrounding mountains. Higher in the mountains is found the Canadian zone and more rarely the Hudsonian. The most conspicuous plant of the Upper Sonoran in this region is the sagebrush *(Artemisia tridentata)*. Other prominent plants include rabbit brush *(Chrysothamnus nauseosus)*, antelope brush *(Purshia tridentata)* and dragon sagewort *(Artemisia dracunculus)*. The Arid Transition zone is divided into two subareas. The lower is characterized by bunchgrass *(Agropyron spicatum)* and often called the bunchgrass prairies. The upper division is typified by the presence of yellow pine *(Pinus ponderosa)* forests. The bunchgrass prairies occupy narrow marginal strips near the mountains and shade into the pine forests as soon as the elevation becomes noticeable. The Cana-

[10]Saunders, 321.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[12]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[11] Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[12] Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[154] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

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[154] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

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the north the Kootenais seem to be superior to the other Shushwap nations. The Salish are assigned by Wilkes and Hale an intermediate place in physical attributes between the coast and mountain tribes, being in stature and proportion superior to the Chinooks, but inferior to the Nez Percés.[155] Inland, a higher order of face is observed than on the coast. The cheek-bones are still high, the forehead is rather low, the face long, the eyes black, rarely oblique, the nose prominent and frequently aquiline, the lips thin, the teeth white and regular but generally much worn. The general expression of the features is stern, often melancholy, but not as a rule harsh or repulsive. Dignified, fine-looking men, and handsome young women have been remarked in nearly all the tribes, but here again the Sahaptins bear off the palm. The complexion is not darker than on the coast, but has more of a coppery hue. The hair is black, generally coarse, and worn long. The beard is very thin, and its growth is carefully prevented by plucking.[156]

[155] In the interior the 'men are tall, the women are of common stature, and both are well formed.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. 'Of middle height, slender.' *Hale's Ethnog*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199. The inland tribes of British Columbia, compared with those on the coast, 'are of a better cast, being generally of the middle height.' *Id.*, p. 198. See also p. 206. The Nez Percés and Cayuses 'are almost universally fine-looking, robust men.' In criticising the person of one of that tribe 'one was forcibly reminded of the Apollo Belvidere.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 148, 98. The Klikatat 'stature is low, with light, sinewy limbs.' *Id.*, p. 178; also pp. 158–174. The Walla-Wallas are generally powerful men, at least six feet high, and the Cayuse are still 'stouter and more athletic.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. The Umatillas 'may be a superior race to the "Snakes," but I doubt it.' *Barnhart*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1862, p. 271. The Salish are 'rather below the average size, but are well knit, muscular, and good-looking.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208. 'Well made and active.' *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 327. 'Below the middle hight, with thick-set limbs.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5. The Cootonais are above the medium height. Very few Shushwaps reach the height of five feet nine inches. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 376, vol. i., p. 240. See also on physique of the inland nations, *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340, 356, 359, 382, 527–8, 556–7; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 475; *Dunn*, in *Cal. Farmer, April* 26, 1861; *San Francisco Herald, June*, 1858; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 309, 414; *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6, and vol. i., frontispiece, cut of a group of Spokanes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30, 198; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 54; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82.

[156] The interior tribes have 'long faces, and bold features, thin lips, wide cheek-bones, smooth skins, and the usual tawny complexion of the American tribes.' 'Features of a less exaggerated harshness' than the coast tribes.

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161 [For population figures for Indian villages located in the Columbia River Basin, around the year 1850, see pp. 124-151, in category 116.]

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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164/757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourn- 173 ing friends and avengers. One motive of the Cayuses 757 in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

from the part supposed to be affected. The spectators pound with their sticks, and all, including doctor, and often the patient in spite of himself, keep up a continual song or yell. There is, however, some method in this madness, and when the routine is completed it is again begun, and thus repeated for several hours each day until the case is decided. In many nations the doctor finally extracts the spirit, in the form of a small bone or other object, from the patient's body or mouth by some trick of legerdemain, and this once effected, he assures the surrounding friends that the tormentor having been thus removed, recovery must soon follow.[190]

[190] The Nez Percés 'are generally healthy, the only disorders which we have had occasion to remark being of scrophulous kind.' With the Sokulks 'a bad soreness of the eyes is a very common disorder.' 'Bad teeth are very general.' The Chilluckittequaws' diseases are sore eyes, decayed teeth, and tumors. The Walla Wallas have ulcers and eruptions of the skin, and occasionally rheumatism. The Chopunnish had 'scrofula, rheumatism, and sore eyes,' and a few have entirely lost the use of their limbs. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 352, 382, 531, 549. The medicine-man uses a medicine-bag of relics in his incantations. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 240–1. The Okanagan medicine-men are called *tlaquillaughs*, and 'are men generally past the meridian of life; in their habits grave and sedate.' 'They possess a good knowledge of herbs and roots, and their virtues.' I have often 'seen him throw out whole mouthfuls of blood, and yet not the least mark would appear on the skin.' 'I once saw an Indian who had been nearly devoured by a grizzly bear, and had his skull split open in several places, and several pieces of bone taken out just above the brain, and measuring three-fourths of an inch in length, cured so effectually by one of these jugglers, that in less than two months after he was riding on his horse again at the chase. I have also seen them cut open the belly with a knife, extract a large quantity of fat from the inside, sew up the part again, and the patient soon after perfectly recovered.' The most frequent diseases are 'indigestion, fluxes, asthmas, and consumptions.' 'Instances of longevity rare. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 302–8. A desperate case of consumption cured by killing a dog each day for thirty-two days, ripping it open and placing the patient's legs in the warm intestines, administering some barks meanwhile. The Flatheads subject to few diseases; splints used for fractures, bleeding with sharp flints for contusions, ice-cold baths for ordinary rheumatism, and vapor bath with cold plunge for chronic rheumatism. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 90–3, vol. i., pp. 248–51. Among the Walla Wallas convalescents are directed to sing some hours each day. The Spokanes require all garments, etc., about the death-bed to be buried with the body, hence few comforts for the sick. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–7, 485. The Flatheads say their wounds cure themselves. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–200. The Wascos cure rattlesnake bites by salt applied to the wound or by whisky taken internally. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 205, 273, 317–18. A female doctor's throat cut by the father of a patient she had failed to cure; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 190. The office of medicine-men among the Sahaptins is generally hereditary. Men often die from fear of a medicine-man's evil glance. Rival doctors work on the fears of patients to get each other killed. Murders of doctors somewhat rare among the Nez Percés. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 672–3, 655. Small-pox seems to have come among the Yakimas and Kliketats before direct intercourse with whites. *Gibbs*, in

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

765 Grief at the death of a relative is manifested by cutting the hair and smearing the face with black. The women also howl at intervals for a period of weeks or even months; but the men on ordinary occasions rarely make open demonstrations of sorrow, though they sometimes shed tears at the death of a son. Several instances of suicide in mourning are recorded; a Walla Walla chieftain caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons. The death of a wife or daughter is deemed of comparatively little consequence. In case of a tribal disaster, as the death of a prominent chief, or the killing of a band of warriors by a hostile tribe, all indulge in the most frantic demonstrations, tearing the hair, lacerating the flesh with flints, often inflicting serious injury. The sacrifice of human life, generally that of a slave, was practiced, but apparently nowhere as a regular part of the funeral rites. Among the Flatheads the bravest of the men and women ceremonially bewail the loss of a warrior by cutting out pieces of their own flesh and casting them with roots and other articles into the fire. A long time passes before a dead person's name is willingly spoken in the tribe. The corpse is commonly disposed of by wrapping in ordinary clothing and burying in the ground without a coffin. The northern tribes sometimes suspended the body in a canoe from a tree, while those in the south formerly piled their dead in wooden sheds or sepulchres above ground. The Okanagans often bound the body upright to the trunk of a tree. Property was in all cases sacrificed; horses usually, and slaves sometimes, killed on the grave. The more valuable articles of wealth were deposited with the body; the rest suspended on poles over and about the grave or left on the surface of the ground; always previously damaged in such manner as not to tempt the sacrilegious thief, for their places of

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Pac. R. R. Rept., vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

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The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika'a, eaters).[48] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[48] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey. 131 x 173 166

These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups.

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tĭka (huni'bui, root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tĭhĭchi'tĭka) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker. 131 x 173

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dĭhĭchi'tĭka: wa'pi, juniper; dĭhĭ'chə, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tĭka (yapa, epos), or Goya'tĭka (craw-

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

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[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqálıspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate·'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: sməkâ'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqàsi'lmi, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

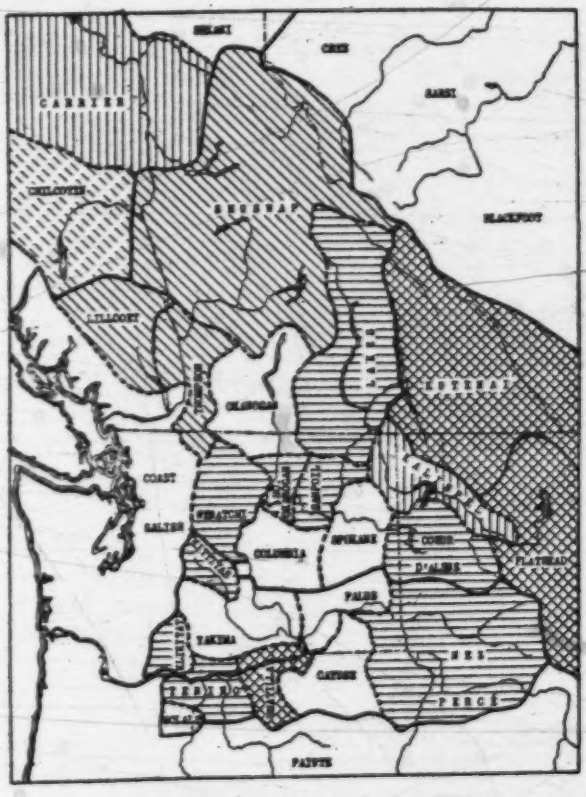
as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 249–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

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Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

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unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

NATIVE VILLAGES AND GROUPINGS OF THE COLUMBIA BASIN

I.

Detailed and reliable information regarding the locations of Indian villages and territorial distribution of native groups holds a wide range of interest and value for the historian, geographer, archaeologist, and ethnologist. Unfortunately this type of information will be all but impossible to obtain from the Pacific Northwest within the space of a few years. It has been in the hope of saving as much of this important data as possible that the work leading to the presentation of this paper has been pursued.[1]

All of the material here recorded has been gathered directly from native informants with the exception of supplementary data quoted from the work of other ethnologists who have been engaged in the same field. Informants were selected so that the information was furnished from direct experience or from knowledge gained from parents or others of the same generation. Many of the villages here named and located were birthplaces or residences of informants themselves or were visited by them during youth.[2] A few villages in the area had been

[1]This work was accomplished through the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

[2]The principal informants used were as follows:

Lakes: James Bernard. Bernard was half Lakes, half Chinese, but had lived all his life with the Lakes. In 1931 he was perhaps eighty years old, the best informed and oldest surviving member of his group. He spoke English but very brokenly. From early in the present century until his death in 1934 he was chief of the few surviving members of the Lakes.

Kalispel: Bob Sherwood, a well educated, intelligent and affable Kalispel half-breed of middle age. Sherwood speaks both Kalispel and English fluently. He now lives near Usk, Washington.

Coeur d'Alene: Antelope, a middle-aged native who speaks some English but was never much influenced by whites. Information that he furnished was given with first-hand certainty. In 1934 Antelope lived near Worley, Idaho.

Spokane groups: Thomas Garry, an Upper Spokane aged about seventy-five years. His son and granddaughter served as interpreters. All are now resident near Gerome, Washington.

Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville: Bob Covington, John Tom, William Burke. Information concerning these informants will be found in the preface to Verne F.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[3]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quaempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quaempts does not speak English; her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[3]G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4] James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5] Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6] See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeastern-most peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN EASTERN OREGON AND ADJACENT REGIONS

By VERNE F. RAY AND OTHERS

131 K 114

SEVERAL criticisms have been submitted for publication in this journal of the tribal units recognized and territories allocated them as recorded in *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshoneans* by Julian H. Steward[1] and in *Tribal Distribution in Oregon* by Joel V. Berreman.[2] In part the discussion turned on Berreman's inferences regarding Shoshonean occupation of eastern Oregon and his use of Teit's thesis that much of this area was once the home of those Sahaptin tribes (Klikitat, Yakima, etc.) which since the opening of the nineteenth century at least have been living in Washington.[3]

The discussions suffered from the unavailability of data known to the Editor to be in manuscript or field note form. Accordingly he invited the contributions printed below. For the sake of completeness it would have been well to have been able to include other manuscript material known to exist, but this has unfortunately not been submitted.

These statements are offered primarily as a record of facts as known to the contributors. They were asked to keep discussion at a minimum at this time. The Editor has not thought it desirable to resolve the conflict of testimony which appears here.

For convenience the data on tribes of eastern Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, and the region immediately adjacent to the south is presented here, that on the Great Basin proper being reserved for the next issue of this journal.—EDITOR.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHEASTERN OREGON

131 K 173

In a previous paper[4] I offered tentative data on the mid-nineteenth century distribution of tribes of northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions. These data were based entirely upon native testimony, but some boundaries were as yet uncertain or unknown and only a few village locations had been obtained. Also, attention was not given to the possibility of variant distributions at an earlier date. Subsequent field study devoted specifically

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[1] American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 625–34, 1937.

[2] Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, No. 47, 1937.

[3] James A. Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish* (University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1928).

[4] Verne F. Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin* (Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 27, pp. 99–152, 1936).

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

to these questions permits filling some of the gaps and correcting some of the uncertainties.[6]

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DISTRIBUTION AT THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Umatilla (yumati'la, from name of principal village, i'matɬam, "lots of rocks") occupied both banks of the Columbia River from the vicinity of Rock Creek (Washington) to a point a few miles below the mouth of the Walla Walla River. North of the Columbia the territory extended to the Horse Heaven Hills, southern boundary of the Yakima. In Oregon a much greater area was held, reaching south to the John Day River. Beyond lay the Paiute. The eastern and western boundaries were less definite due to greater intercourse with neighboring tribes. Rock Creek (Oregon) furnished an approximate western boundary but Umatilla families sometimes camped as far west as the John Day River;[8] reciprocally, the Wayampam or Tenino[9] enjoyed free movement eastward to Willow Creek. Even on the Columbia

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[6] This study was conducted for the Department of Anthropology of the University of Washington. A complete catalog of village locations was obtained for the Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, and Palus, together with additions to a Tenino list acquired earlier. Thus tribal boundaries in this paper are based upon village locations as well as other distributional data. Where variance with my former mapping occurs, the present is the more definitive.

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The informants responsible for statements in this paper are many, including representatives of every group mentioned (see Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100). The most specific data comes from James Kashkash, Mrs Kashkash, Allen Padawa, Sam Armstrong, Charley Morrison, and Annie Morrison.

N5

Kashkash was born ca. 1860 near Asotin, Wash.; father's father from Cayuse village near present Walla Walla; f's m from Nez Percé; m's f half Cayuse–half Nez Percé of Asotin; m's m Cayuse of Walla Walla. Kashkash went to Mackay Creek (Umatilla) in 1876; married Umatilla–Cayuse woman in 1879; later married present Nez Percé wife. Excellent memory; widely acquainted; well informed.

Mrs Kashkash: intelligent Nez Percé about 65; speaks no English; lived with Nez Percé until married.

Charley Morrison: Kittitas about 65; never went on reservation; born and lived continuously on old village site near Thorp, Wash.; f, m, f's f, f's m, and m's f born at same place; m's m from near Ellensburg; f's f's m from near Kittitas, Wash.; f's f's f from Puget Sound.

Annie Morrison: Wenatchi about 65; Charley's wife; lived with Wenatchi until middle age.

Allen Padawa; Sam Armstrong: see Ray, *loc. cit.*

[8] This accounts for the western boundary being placed at the John Day River in my former map.

[9] The western neighbors of the Umatilla have been known by both names. I have preferred and previously used Wayampam because this term has group reference (-pam, "people") whereas Tenino is a village name. However, Dr George Peter Murdock, who has worked with these people most extensively, favors Tenino. Therefore I propose to use the name Tenino exclusively hereafter.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x River, where lines of demarcation were usually very definite, several vil-
173 lages were jointly occupied by Umatilla and Tenino.[8]

On the east the Umatilla-Cayuse division was equally vague except on the lower Umatilla River and near Ukiah. Both banks of the Umatilla River

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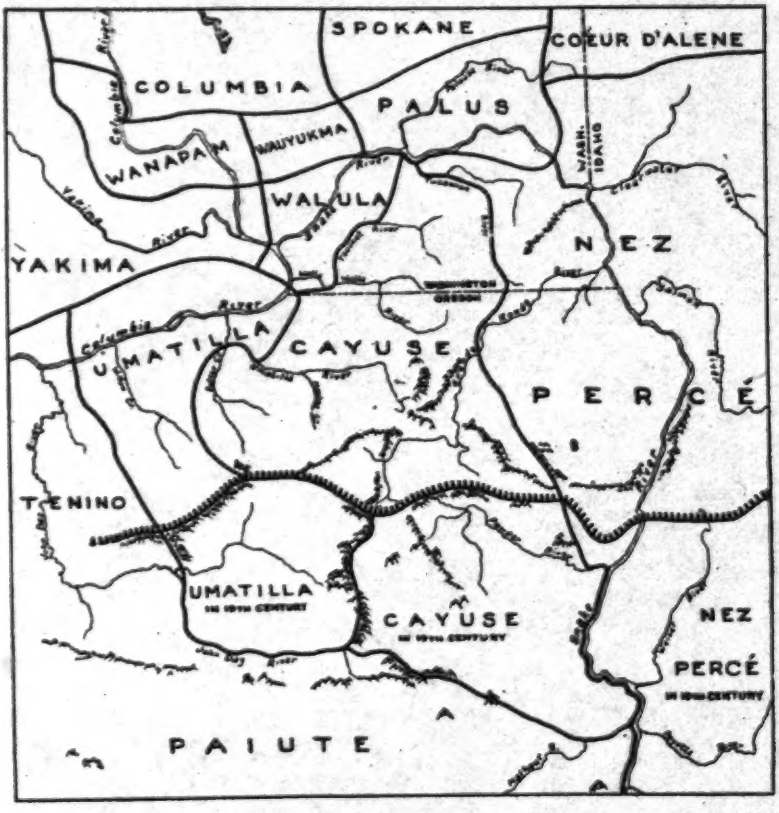

FIG. 1. Tribal distribution in northeastern Oregon and adjacent regions, by Ray. The serrated line represents the northern boundary of Shoshonean peoples in the 18th century and earlier.

131x below the mouth of Butter Creek, and the north side for several miles
173 above, belonged to the Umatilla; but all of Butter Creek was held by the Cayuse. In the gathering grounds to the south the Umatilla occupied the

[8] In the present map this area is divided between the two.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Ukiah region, whereas the nearby Lehman hot springs belonged to the Cayuse. Village location largely determined these distinctions; though of mixed composition, the tribal affiliation of each of these villages was quite definite. 131 173

The irregular southern boundaries of the Umatilla and Cayuse were not arbitrary but conformed to topographical conditions. The Umatilla utilized the entire drainage area of the North Fork of the John Day River; the Cayuse used the slopes draining into the Umatilla and Powder Rivers.

Walula (walu'la [Umatilla name], wala'wala [Walula name], "little river;" name of largest village near mouth of Walla Walla River) territory adjoined that of the Umatilla at the bend of the Columbia, but these groups did not intermingle freely. In consequence, the line dividing them was quite definite. The uppermost Umatilla village included no Walula residents, although the principal Walula village was but a few miles distant. In addition to a short segment of the Columbia, the Walula occupied both sides of the Snake River from the mouth to Lyons Ferry.

The habitat of the Cayuse (wayi·'letpu) did not touch the Columbia at any point and bordered on the Snake for only a very short distance at the northernmost extreme, near Starbuck. A portion of the territory consisted of bare, rolling hills, but much of the area lay within the Blue Mountains. A number of drainage systems were occupied, including those of the Walla Walla, the Umatilla, the Upper Grande Ronde, Powder, and Burnt Rivers, and the Willow Creek branch of the Malheur River. On the northeast the Tucannon River formed the boundary; on the northwest a segment of the Touchet River served likewise.

Cayuse villages were spread over the whole of the area but were not often located along the boundaries. Thus villages were seldom of mixed composition. Intercourse was extensive with the Nez Percé but the line of demarcation remained well defined. The southern boundary lay in relatively unoccupied country. Territory to the south was held by the Paiute and Bannock, with whom relations were at all times strained.

The western and northern boundaries of the Nez Percé, as shown on the map, are based upon non-conflicting data from Cayuse, Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alene informants. These new data agree substantially with those obtained by Spinden from the Nez Percé many years ago.[9] The Nez Percé-Palus boundary rests on Palus village locations and Nez Percé territorial claims. Though the Palus (palu·'s, name of village at mouth of Palouse

[9] Herbert J. Spinden, *The Nez Percé Indians* (Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, Vol. 2, pp. 165–274, 1908), pp. 171–75.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131K River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax,
173 the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

131K The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determin-
175 ing tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded
103 native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[34]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[35] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[36] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[34] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [35] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [36] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the Nekɛtɛme'uɣ formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikâtimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[53]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[54]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[55] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[53] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[54] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[55] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

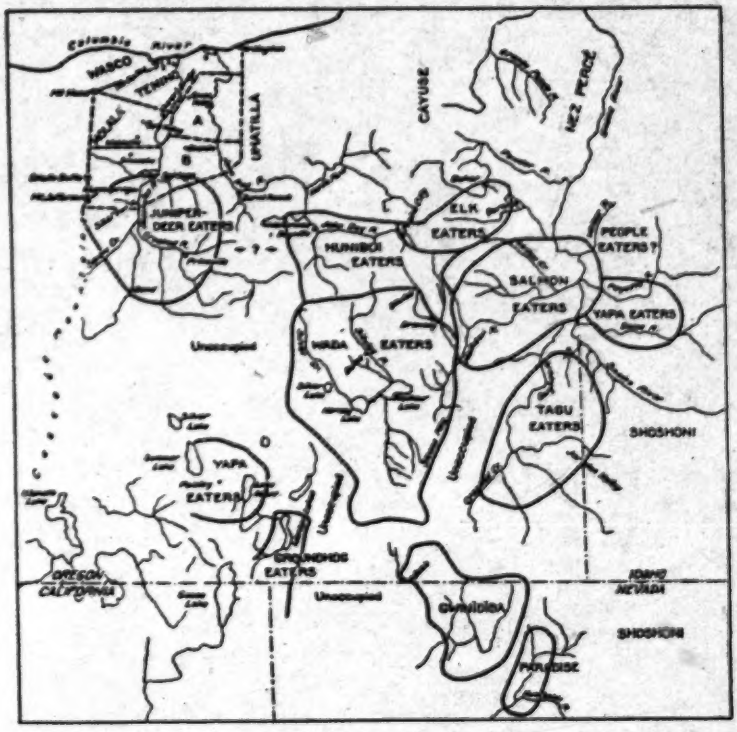

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

tinai'nu (1)[36] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2). 131* 173

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia. 361

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[37] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs." [101]

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[36] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[37] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 K 173 367 slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, c±tai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

131 K 173 721 Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

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POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

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Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . . "

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

4. All the Sahaptin tribes, except the somewhat divergent Nez Percé, were confined to central Oregon, "probably with the Cascade Mountains and the Klamath on their west, the Waiilatpuan on their north, probably the Nez Percé on their northeast, and the Snake [i.e., Paiute] on their other boundaries."

4. Flat denial that the Tenino—or any other Sahaptin people—have inhabited central Oregon within the memory of man; denial borne out by Tenino culture, which differs markedly from the Basin type suited to the environment of central Oregon, and which affiliates with both the Plateau and the lower Columbia, as witness, for example, dugout canoes, semisubterranean earth lodges, elaboration of river fishing techniques, slavery, village political u..its, strong emphasis upon trade, social importance of wealth, prophet dance, and prominent first salmon rite.

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5. The Paiute, expanding to the north and northwest, exerted steady pressure upon the Sahaptin, which reached its height in the years 1800-1830.

5. The Tenino, expanding to the south and southeast, exerted steady pressure upon the Paiute, which reached its height in the years between 1810 or 1820 and 1855.

6. As a result of this pressure, the Sahaptin were forced northward down the Deschutes River, through a gap between the Cayuse and the Molala, to and across the Columbia, where they displaced the Salishan peoples and gave rise to the recent Sahaptin tribes of Washington.

6. As a result of Tenino pressure, the Paiute were forced southward up the Deschutes and John Day Rivers, relinquishing a portion of their former territory.

7. The Tenino, who constituted the last wave of fugitive Sahaptin migrants, partly settled among the Wasco near The Dalles and partly moved westward across the Cascades into the Willamette Valley.

7. The Tenino, allegedly, have long lived near—not among—the Wasco, and they remember no mass movement by part of their number into the Willamette Valley.

8. The displacement of the Sahaptin from central Oregon brought the Paiute for the first time into contact with the Molala.

8. The Molala, residing south of the Sahaptin, have allegedly been in contact with the Paiute from time immemorial.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

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9. Paiute pressure then forced the Molala to migrate west of the Cascades.	9. The Molala were driven west of the Cascades by the Tenino, not by the Paiute.
10. These movements brought the Paiute north almost to the Columbia.	10. These movements carried the Paiute farther and farther south away from the Columbia, which they now approached only on occasional long forays.
11. In consequence of Paiute raids the south bank of the Columbia River was practically cleared of Salishan and Sahaptin peoples from The Dalles east to Umatilla.	11. The Tenino, to their recollection, were never thus driven from the south bank of the Columbia; the apparent lack of occupation was presumably due to the fact that all their permanent villages were located several miles or more to the south, away from the river.

In conclusion, it would seem high time to abandon a theory which was based in the first instance upon undependable evidence, which has been unsubstantiated by any subsequent field worker in central Oregon, and which is flatly contradicted by an abundance of opposing evidence.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS IN OREGON

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The people of Harney Valley, Oregon, are a band of Northern Paiute known as the Wada'tika (Wada, seed; tika'a, eaters).[48] They wintered in Silver Creek, Harney, Diamond, Blitzen and Catlow Valleys in Harney County, southeastern Oregon. The southernmost winter camp remembered was at Roaring Springs, Catlow Valley, although some conflicting evidence indicates the presence of a winter camp on Wild Horse Creek, southeast of the Steens Mountains. No winter camp north of the boundaries of Harney Valley was remembered. The westernmost wintering place was Suntex in Silver Creek Valley. The Steens Mountains and the plateau forming the wall of Harney Valley were the eastern boundaries, except for the problematical camp at Wild Horse. The hunting and gathering grounds of the band extended north to the vicinity of Silvies, west to Wagontire, southwest to the neighborhood of Beatty Butte, south to the limits of

[48] During the summers of 1936 and 1937 I did field work at Burns, Oregon.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Catlow Valley, southeast to Alvord Lake and northeast to Drewsey. 131 x

These boundaries are far from definite; neighboring bands frequently wandering farther from their winter bases and the Wada Eaters likewise venturing, at times, a greater distance from Harney Valley. Furthermore, the bands were extremely fluid in character, and there were occasional small camp groups which wandered from band to band and which do not seem to have wintered with any definite nuclear group. There was no feeling of band ownership of the hunting and gathering grounds. Any group of people might utilize the produce of the terrain without trespassing. There was a tendency, however, for the Wada Eaters to frequent the same places from year to year. During the summer wandering, they would often encounter people of different groups. 173 166

The Wada Eater knew well and had frequent intercourse with seven surrounding bands. They located these bands by their winter camps. In some instances they gave specific information as to the places they were likely to be found during the summer season. In mapping these regions, there is land which they did not assign to any definite group. Such territory was undoubtedly utilized by all adjacent bands, like all hunting and gathering grounds.

Directly north of the Wada Eaters were the Hu'nipwi'tĭka (huni'bui, root) whose winter camps, according to my informants, centered around Canyon City Creek, the town of John Day, and the valley of the John Day River to the west. They hunted as far south as Seneca and Izee, and at least as far west as Dayville. I have no information as to their northern boundary, but it was stated that they wintered on both sides of the John Day River and as far north as Waterman. As to the easternmost extension of their terrain there was disagreement. Some informants cited a separate band of Elk Eaters (Pa'tĭhĭchi'tĭka) to the east of the Huni'bui Eaters in the vicinity of Prairie City and Baker. Others, however, stated that these people were part of the Huni'bui Eaters band. In any case, the information would seem to indicate the presence of camps as far east as Baker. 131 x 173

To the northwest of the Wada Eaters, wintering on the east side of the Deschutes River, were the Juniper-Deer Eaters (Wa'dĭhĭchi'tĭka: wa'pi, juniper; dĭhĭ'chə, deer.) The northernmost place mentioned as inhabited by them was Gateway, the southernmost, Bend. To the east Prineville is the last definitely located site. Mount Jefferson, to the west, was mentioned as a hunting ground.

West of the Wada Eaters and south of the Juniper-Deer Eaters, in the vicinity of Paisley, were the Yapa'tĭka (yapa, epos), or Goya'tĭka (craw-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131 fish).[39] Southwest of the Wada Eaters, and separated by the plateau to the
173 southeast of Catlow Valley, were the Gidū'tikad[39,40] (Gidī'tika, Groundhog Eaters). In the vicinity of Denio and McDermitt, to the south of the Wada Eaters were the G̊wi'nidī'ba (no meaning?). According to informants there were no strictly Paiute bands between these people and the Shoshoni. In the vicinity of Paradise Valley and the railroad to Winnemucca, however, there was a group known as the Paradise Indians, who were half Paiute and half Shoshoni.

In the Owyhee River Valley and the vicinity of the present site of the town Jordan Valley, east from the Wada Eaters, were the Tagu'tika (tagu, root). There were no pure Paiute bands farther to the east.

Northeast of the Wada Eaters were the Salmon Eaters (Agai'tika). They wintered on the north and south sides of the Malheur River and fished on the Snake. Some informants distinguished two bands of Salmon Eaters, those living north and those south of the Malheur River. The camps of this band extended as far west as the North Fork of the Malheur. Two informants stated that they also wintered on the east side of the Snake. This was denied by others. All informants agreed, however, that they camped on both sides of the river in the spring and summer.[41]

One band, described as being east and north of the Snake River, were known vaguely to the people of Harney Valley. The information indicated that they probably wintered near the Boise River. The members of this band, according to one informant were half Paiute and half Shoshoni. One informant mentioned another band of People Eaters (Niwī'tika), but did not make it clear whether they lived in the hills to the north or south of the Boise. It was evident that east of the Snake there was a great deal of intermixture of people of Shoshoni and Paiute bands.

These locations were obtained from informants of about seventy-five years old and pertained to the time of their parents, that is approximately 1840–1850. By 1865 pressure from the Umatilla, Cayuse, Tenino, Shoshoni, and the United States Army had driven the Huni'bui Eaters south, the Salmon Eaters west, and the Juniper-Deer Eaters south and east. The bands on the periphery seem to have suffered tremendous losses in the period directly preceding the establishment of the reservation in 1872.

This mapping does not conflict with Steward's distribution of the Sho-

[39] In the case of all the bands there were two or three variant names cited as well as names for sub-groups.

[40] See Isabel T. Kelly, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1932), p. 70.

[41] Information indicated a large percentage of intermarriage with the Shoshoni.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

shoni tribes.[62] It disagrees with Ray's mapping of the Umatilla,[63] which gives to the latter terrain on both sides of the John Day. My information does not in any way substantiate Berreman's classification of the peoples in central eastern Oregon about 1850 in which he postulates Snake and Bannock groups in the north as opposed to Northern Paiute to the south.[64] The bands to the north and northeast, according to the information I secured from the Harney Valley group, were very similar to the Wada Eaters. The dialectic differences were slight. Their cultures differed in aspects of the food quest and material culture. The bands to the north and northwest made much more use of bark and juniper berries. The bands on the Snake had access to a larger quantity of fish, had dugout canoes, and more elaborate fishing techniques.[65] Intermarriage between these groups and those to the south in Nevada and Surprise Valley was common. The population was fluid; families of one band often becoming affiliated with neighboring groups. Furthermore, the group looked upon itself as a unit as opposed to Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. I secured no information which indicated the presence of a permanent Bannock group west of the Snake River in 1840–1850. The Bannock, according to the Wada Eaters' version, were a Northern Paiute group who migrated east across the Snake when the buffalo withdrew from Oregon. My material also disagrees with Berreman's allotment of the region around Gateway on the Deschutes River to the Tenino. I have no evidence which indicates the expansion of the Paiute bands at the expense of Sahaptin groups in the first half of the nineteenth century, except for occasional raids.

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NORTHERN PAIUTE

The name, Northern Paiute, is preferable to Paviotso for the Indians of the western Great Basin, because they call themselves Paiute, are called Paiute by their Indian neighbors, and are so termed in government reports; also because they form a cultural and linguistic unit much more extensive than Powell's Paviotso.

The Northern Paiute occupy the western part of the Great Basin in California, Nevada, Oregon, and Idaho. The northern and western bound-

[62] Steward, *Linguistic Distributions*, fig. 1.

[63] Ray, *Native Villages and Groupings of the Columbia Basin*, map, p. 5.

[64] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 47 f., 63 f., fig. 2.

[65] The northern and eastern bands seemed also to have owned and made more use of the horse.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourning friends and avengers. 173 757 One motive of the Cayuses in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientation

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A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

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> From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the existence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

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In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida [illegible] are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.
[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.
[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

> The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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abandoned as the result of white encroachment as early as 1880 but major displacements did not occur until after the turn of the century. Indeed, it was not until 1858 that the region was open to settlement by whites, and the railroad did not appear until 1883. In the words of George W. Fuller, "Annual emigrations [of whites] streamed across the interior [of Washington], seeing no reason to tarry in a seemingly arid and inhospitable land. As late as 1856, General Wool, commanding the Pacific Division, insisted that the Inland Empire was a natural Indian reservation and fit for nothing else[!]. It was to the interest of the first whites in the interior,—the fur traders,—that settlers be kept out. Just as the Walla Walla valley was being settled, an Indian uprising brought troops upon the stage, and General Wool closed the interior to Whites. Its occupation was delayed a dozen years, and the lockout might have lasted a long time if gold had not been discovered."[2]

Thus the Indian villages, which for the most part were off the routes used by the migrating whites, remained largely unmolested until well into the lifetimes of many living natives.

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Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem: Salishan Peoples of Northeastern Washington," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*. (Seattle, 1932), V, 1-237.

Chelan: The Wapato family, three brothers in the forties and fifties and their father. These intelligent informants, one of whom attended the University of Washington law school, furnished the information here given. All live near Manson, Washington.

Kittitas, Wenatchi: Sam Armstrong, aged about sixty years. Armstrong, an intelligent informant speaking good English, is of Wenatchi nativity but has spent much of his life with the Kittitas. He now lives near Harrah, Washington.

Yakima: Alek McCoy, an aged, infirm and blind, but mentally alert informant speaking no English. His son acted as interpreter. McCoy lived near Toppenish, Washington.

Klikitat: Lucy Quesempts, near eighty years of age. Mrs Quesempts does not speak English: her daughter served as interpreter. She is the sister of Joe Hunt who furnished many of the texts in Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts, I" in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1929), II, 175-244; and Melville Jacobs, "Northwest Sahaptin Texts," in *Columbia University Contributions in Anthropology* (New York, 1934), XIX, pt. 1. (Attention is called to the geographic texts in the latter volume, pp. 234-236.)

Umatilla: Allen Padawa, a middle-aged, full blood with a fair command of English. In addition to the material here presented, Padawa furnished a number of ethnologic texts as part of the author's work with the Umatilla under a commission from the Committee on Research in American Indian Languages. Padawa lived near Mission, Oregon, in 1932.

Cayuse: Gilbert Minthorn, about fifty years of age in 1930, was part Cayuse on his mother's side. The band names and locations were obtained by Dr. Jacobs in 1930, incidental to the work of the field linguistic party of the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe. Morris Swadesh initiated the recording. These meager Cayuse data are more valuable than might be apparent, since the Cayuse culture, especially the language, is almost completely lost at this time.

[2] G. W. Fuller, *A History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1931), preface, vi.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[1]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[1] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

River) occupied the valley of the Palouse River from its mouth to Colfax, the principal villages were located on the Snake River.

DISTRIBUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Tribal territories as outlined above had persisted without material change, in Washington and northernmost Oregon, from time immemorial. But not so in the southern extensions of the area: Sahaptin peoples had acquired these regions only after the opening of the nineteenth century. Formerly Shoshonean peoples had occupied all of the upper drainage of the John Day River, all of the Powder River, and all of the Weiser and Payette River basins and the territory to the south. Throughout the span of traditional history the Umatilla had been bounded on the south by the range of hills spreading westward from Ukiah, the Cayuse by the Grande Ronde-Powder River divide, and the Nez Percé by the Wallowa and Seven Devils Mountains. During this period the eastern, western, and northern boundaries were essentially the same as in more recent times. A separate map for each period is therefore unnecessary; the earlier distribution may be indicated by a modified southern boundary.

DISTRIBUTION IN 1805–1806

The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark furnish a basis for determining tribal locations for the years 1805–1806. The explorers not only recorded native distributions along the route of travel, but obtained information from native informants concerning more distant peoples. These data were used in constructing maps and tables covering a large portion of the area under discussion.[10] These maps are surprisingly accurate, considering the manner in which they were drafted, but many of the names have remained quite meaningless since the English equivalents were undetermined. Transcriptions and translations obtained in the field in connection with the present study permit the interpretation of certain of these names and the checking of earlier attempts at identification based largely on geographical positions.[11] Tribal locations can thus be determined with fair certainty.

The data may be summarized in tabular form:[12]

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[10] R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806* (7 vols., atlas, New York, 1904).

[11] E.g., James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion, etc.* (Fourteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Pt. 2, 1896), pp. 731–45.

[12] The entries here are not limited to Oregon since tribal locations in Washington are of significance also in the discussion which follows.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

Lewis and Clark name	*Phonetic transcription*	*English equivalent*	*Location in 1805–1806*
Wah-how-pum[12]	xwa'ɬxwaipam[14]	Klikitat	North of the Columbia from Klikitat R. to Alderdale
You-ma-tol-am[13]	i'matɬam	Umatilla	Umatilla River
Wal-low-wal-low[16]	wɬa'wala	Walla Walla	Both sides Columbia from mouth of Snake to near mouth of Umatilla
Y-e-let-po[18]	wayi'ɬtpu	Cayuse	Asotin [We-are-cum[17]] R. (between Snake and Grande Ronde)
Pish-quit-pah[18]	pɯc(ukalai)kitpa	Cayuse[19]	North bank of Columbia from Alderdale to mouth of Umatilla
Pal-lace[20]	palu'c, palu's	Palus	Palouse R. (Drewyers R.)
Wa-ner-po[21]	wa'napam	Wanapam	Priests Rapids-White Bluffs region
Tapteet, Tapteel[22]	ta·'ptat[23]	Yakima	Yakima River
Shan-wap-pom[24]	pcwa'nwapam	Kittitas	Headwaters of the Klikitat and Yakima R.
Wah-na-a-chee[25]	wana'itci	Wenatchi	Wenatchee River
Parps-pal-low[26]	pa·'a'pspa'lu	Southern Okanogan[27]	Lower Okanogan Valley
Hi-hi-e-nimo[28]	xayɛ·'nimu	Spokane	Spokane River
Wheel-po[28]	sxoie'ɬp[29]	Colville	Kettle Falls
Coos-pel-lar[30]	ku·'spa'lu	Kalispel	East of Okanogan R. near Canadian boundary
Skeet-so-mish[28]	tski·'sumɯx	Coeur d'Alene	Coeur d'Alene Lake

[12] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 321; Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 32.

[14] Spier identifies Wahowpam with Wayampam (Tenmo) rather than with Klikitat (Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, Vol. 3, pp. 151–300, 1930, p. 169). This may be correct. However, Melville Jacobs feels that Sahaptin phonetics favor the alternate interpretation (personal conversation). The territory ascribed to the Wahowpam has more recently been held in part by the Klikitat, in part by the Tenino. Both are Sahaptin speaking; cultural differences are slight.

[13] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[16] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, map 31.

[17] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 115; Atlas, maps 31, 44.

[18] *Idem*, Atlas, maps 31, 32.

[19] The identification of Pish-quit-pah with the Cayuse term pɯc(ukalai)kitpa is problematical. The latter is the name of a large Cayuse village recently located near Milton, Oregon. This is east of the Pish-quit-pah territory. The Cayuse term refers to a stream passing

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The Nez Percé are designated by the name Chopunnish but the term is applied to several other Sahaptin groups as well, such as the Cayuse and Palus. Excluding the latter, the Nez Percé boundaries coincide almost exactly with the earliet distribution noted above.[31]

Shoshonean tribes are described as residing

on the S. fork of Lewis's [Snake] river and on the Nemo [Weiser], Walshlemo [Powder], Shallett [Payette], Shushpellanimmo [South Fork, Payette], Shecomskink [Malheur], Timmooennumlarwas [Sucker], and the Cop cop pahark [Boise] river branches of the South fork of Lewises river.[32] [Also] in Spring and Summer on the East fork of Lewis's river [Clearwater] a branch of the Columbia, and winter and fall on the Missouri.[33]

A further statement is less credible since it would bring the Shoshoneans north of the Blue Mountains:

Sho-Sho-ne (or Snake indians) residing in Winter and fall on the Multnomah

between high cliffs and may have been applied independently to a region on the Columbia. In any event, the name is definitely Sahaptin and any identification with the Salishan Pishquow (npakwa'us, Wenatchi) as by Thwaites (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 137) is certainly erroneous. Furthermore, Clark notes that these people "do not speak prosisely the same language of those above but understand them" (*ibid.*). Phonetic and geographical considerations discredit Mooney's derivation of Pish-quit-pah from the Yakima village name pa'sko (Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 739; Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Much more probably this was a branch of the Cayuse or Umatilla.

[30] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Atlas, maps 31, 40.

[31] *Idem*, map 40.

[32] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 289; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41.

[33] Ray, *loc. cit.* A large Yakima village at Prosser.

[34] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 40.

[35] *Idem*, Vol. 3, opp. p. 118; Vol. 6. p. 119. This is a Sahaptin term appearing only as a river name in Lewis and Clark but used as the exclusive tribal name today. The explorers use the unidentified tribal name Cuts-ah-nim (probably Salishan).

[36] *Idem*, atlas, map 40.

[37] The native term means "people of the fir tree country," but is applied rather specifically by the Umatilla to the Salish near the mouth of the Okanogan River.

[38] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119; Atlas, map 43.

[39] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[40] The location by Lewis and Clark is confused and uncertain; see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119, and Atlas, map 43.

[41] *Idem*, Vol. 6, pp. 114–19; Atlas, maps 31, 40, 41, 44. These boundaries likewise agree well with those given by Spinden (*loc. cit.*). Spinden gives no time reference for his descriptions. With regard to the southern boundary the agreement is real only if Spinden is describing conditions in the eighteenth or very early nineteenth centuries.

[42] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 119.

[43] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 114.

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river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tol-am* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[34]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[35] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[36] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[34] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [35] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [36] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

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route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the NeKETEme'uX formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikátimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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Teit writes of a Salish group called Tia'kxtux or Stia'kxtxmux being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.[46] Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are stiaxa' (Umatilla) and stiala'ma (Kittitas); the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe. 131* 175

In this connection Teit states that

> The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchxn or .nia'qxtcxn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.[47]

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a'kaitci, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the ·nkee'us;[48] Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.[49]

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805–1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800–1830."[50] Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."[51] Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for 131* 175 721

[46] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 *f.*
[47] *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 *f.*
[48] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[49] *Idem*, p. 94.
[50] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[51] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

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the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[83]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[84]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[85] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[83] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[84] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[85] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

131 x
173
721

POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

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721

Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . . "

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131x
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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

131x
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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

177 For information on acculturation, especially for instances of cultural borrowing and adaptive modification of introduced elements, see entire source.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

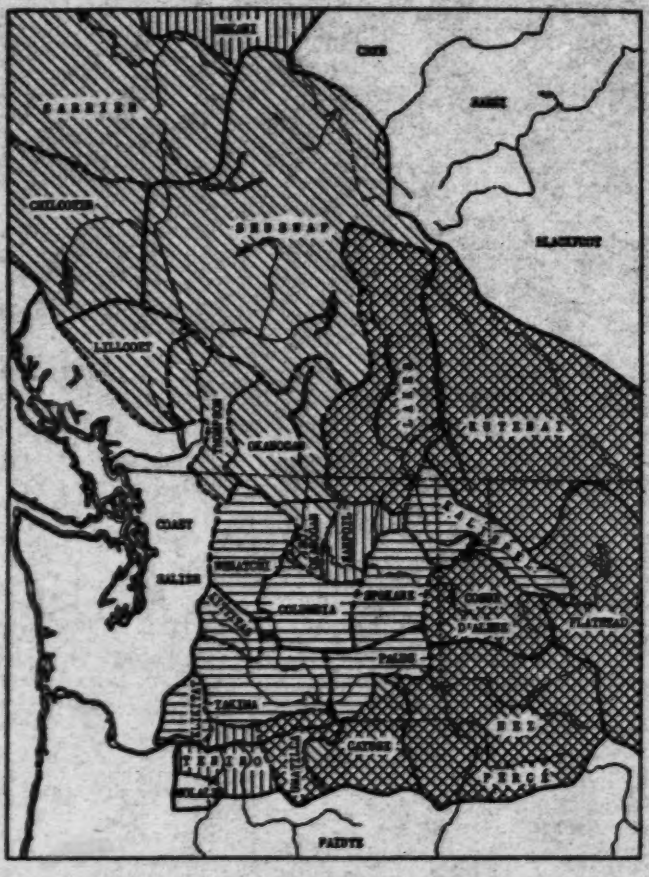
The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



Map 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

619
623

council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

101
619

Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more important with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

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[14] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 242 f.

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Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[15]

[15] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

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This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

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But the parallels with the north must not be under-emphasized. An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[28]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[28] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Déné*, p. 202.

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[25]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[26] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[27]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[25] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 23 f.
[26] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[27] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression. 177 183

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions. 554

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38] 554 565

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather 177 554 565 621

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[a]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[a]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[a] *Idem*, p. 254.
[a] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

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Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.
[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

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567 and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[88]

[88] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 90.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles. 177/567

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale. 181/721

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 79 f.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Wahila, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

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No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 264.

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In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[71] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[72] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[73] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[71] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[72] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[73] Smith, *loc. cit.*

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat ti[illegible] with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[32]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[33]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[32] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[33] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority. They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. I, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111] 177 881

This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f. [112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

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The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

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It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[112] Related practices are found in California.

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

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Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; deposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively.

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[112] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alène, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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177 796 is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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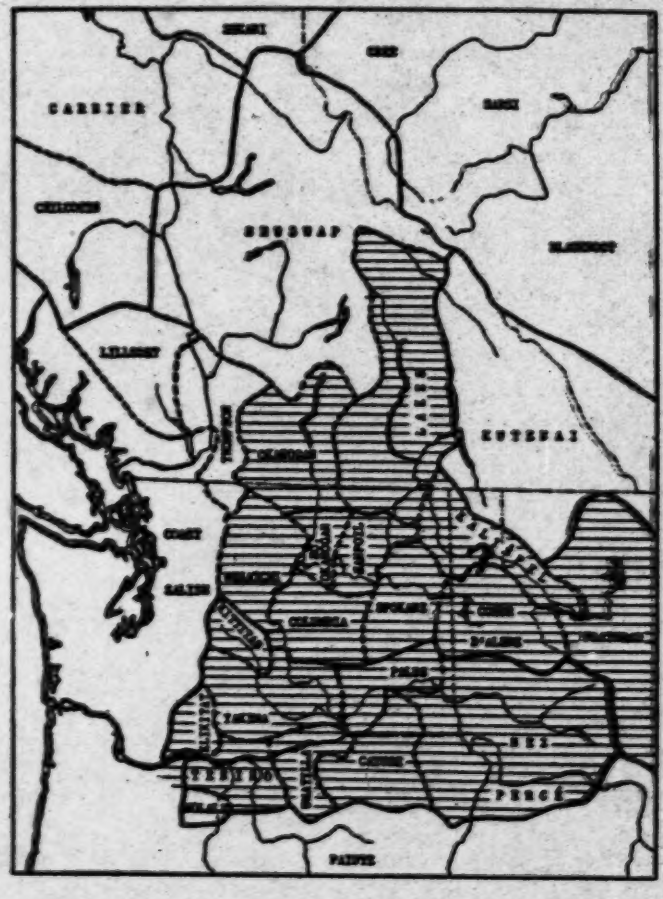

Map 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

177 796 tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

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Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

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> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

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796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

177 796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by

[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

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any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

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the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects. 177 796

[114] See above.

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CONCLUSION

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Certain facts stand out clearly in the light of this survey. The Plateau is seen to possess distinctive character in its own right. Many aspects of culture which are integral to its organization are not to be found in adjacent areas. This indicates both the individuality of the area and the relatively slight influence which the region has exerted upon neighboring areas. This is not to deny the existence or importance of cultural elements of foreign origin. The Plateau has borrowed much from the Coast and it has taken much from the Plains. But the importance of coastal influence has probably been overrated, and diffusion from the Plains is in large part recent and superficial.

In most cases coastal traits have not penetrated deeply into the Plateau. The western fringe of the area has been markedly modified, almost made over in some instances. The Lillooet are an example. But the adjacent Shuswap have retained Plateau culture in almost full measure. The Wishram, adjoining the Coast on the Columbia River, likewise possess a culture with a marked coastal tinge. This might well be expected considering their position and the extent of their intercourse with the Coast as a result of their highly developed commercial activities. It is surprising, indeed, that they exhibit a culture as Plateau-like as proves to be the case. But this coastal aspect does not extend beyond the Wishram. Their eastern neighbors face squarely toward the Plateau; their backs are turned upon even those innovations accepted by the Wishram. The slight degree of class feeling that characterizes the Wishram is wholly lacking among the Klikitat, for example. The latter participate fully in the Plateau ideal of social equality. And yet class distinctions are the major aspect of distinctive Northwest Coast culture typically represented at the mouth of the Columbia River.

The characteristic cultural complexes of Coast and Plateau are surprisingly antagonistic. The matter of class distinctions is the best case in point but not the only one. Warfare provides another example. The coastal peoples are not warlike in the ordinary sense, but nevertheless warfare is ever present, the antagonisms involved are bitter, and the methods utilized are ruthless. What a contrast is presented by the Plateau emphasis upon pacifism! The tenacity of the pacific ideal is illustrated by the Shuswap. The western branch has adopted the coastal attitude to a degree, presumably after prolonged pressure. But the eastern division, in contrast, has clung wholeheartedly to the Plateau ideal.

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The process leading to Plains impress on the eastern Plateau presents marked contrasts with conditions on the opposite border. On the west the coastal elements were received gradually over a long period. A process of amalgamation kept pace with the innovations. But on the east very nearly the whole pattern of Plains culture swept over the adjacent Plateau in one great wave. The result was not transformation, as on the west, but mere superimposition. Strong emphasis upon this point is necessary because the general assumption has been that Plateau culture was eradicated in the areas affected by the process of cultural diffusion from the Plains. It is easy to understand how this impression came about, for the Plains elements give the effect of opaqueness despite their superficiality. The result is a sort of Jekyll and Hyde affair. When the one is observed the other cannot be detected. The objective guise is wholly Plains in aspect; the subjective guise is equally typical of the Plateau. An observer of the midsummer dances of the Yakima or Nez Percé, even today, might well imagine himself in the Plains; but one observing the home life of these same people could never doubt his Plateau locale. There is no question but that an ethnography wholly typical of the Plateau could be obtained as easily today among the Yakima as among the Shuswap. In the preceding pages the Plains stratum has been frequently emphasized, and sub-areal characterizations drawn on the basis of it. There are several reasons for this. In many cases the available data describe only that level of culture. Furthermore, important historical processes are thereby illustrated.

On the whole, the Plateau has been more receptive to detached elements of culture than to whole complexes. This might well be anticipated, but exceptions are not infrequent. For example, such a continentally widespread practice as the taking of scalps, in the course of warfare, has failed to gain any considerable acceptance. In contrast, the western regions share with the Coast the whole complex of the pre-war dance for supernatural aid. And again, the tribes of the eastern border of the Plateau adopted a war complex virtually in its entirety, not merely a dance or an attitude pattern. Nevertheless the Plateau maintained its identity. The central areas were wholly untouched; the adoption was strictly local though impressive in extent.

Several cultural sub-areas have been encountered in the Plateau. A longitudinal area along the eastern border (Kutenai to Nez Percé) is particularly prominent. Its basis has been discussed above. This sub-

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area is characterized by a distinct temporal aspect. It almost certainly lacked any marked distinction prior to the coming of the horse. A western sub-area extends the entire length of the Plateau (Carrier to Klamath). This is an outgrowth of a similar process, that is, marginal interchange with an adjacent area. In this case, as in the other, the transfer has been largely unidirectional, inward to the Plateau. But in contrast to the preceding sub-area, this is not temporally qualified. Although extending the entire length of the Plateau, this sub-area is very weak in its middle region. From the Southern Okanogan to the Klikitat the affiliation is dominantly with the central area to the east, but the effect of marginal position is discernible. As might be expected, the strongest identity is at those points where intercourse with the Coast is easily maintained. This is along the great watercourses, the Columbia and the Fraser. The Wishram, Lillooet, and Thompson are the groups most influenced.

The characterization of coastal influence as steady and prolonged applies only south of the Chilcotin. Apparently the coastal innovations in the Chilcotin and Carrier regions are of very recent date and of an overwhelming order reminiscent of Plains inroads in the east. Jenness states that the western Carrier have been so profoundly affected by the Coast that very little remains of their original culture apart from language and emphasis upon hunting. Morice is scarcely less emphatic. The recency of the acceptance may be due to lack of previous contact because of a more eastern habitat. Both Jenness and Morice are of this opinion.[1]

We may now turn to cultural sub-areas of quite different nature. These are lateral in distribution and cannot be interpreted as the result of extra-areal influence, except very slightly and indirectly. Three such areas are clearly defined. The northernmost is composed of the Athabascan peoples: Chilcotin, Carrier, and Sekani. The second has been termed, in this paper, the Canadian or northern Plateau. The third is the American or southern Plateau. The boundary between the last two is roughly the international line. Specifically, the northern area consists of the Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, and Okanogan. All tribes to the south belong to the American area. The Lakes are affiliated with the south in most aspects of culture, while the Kutenai vary but most frequently lean to the north. In a number of phases the Kutenai are unique.

This north-south division is the most definite and distinctive of any

[1] Jenness, *Ancient Education*, pp. 22 f.; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 197 ff.

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in the Plateau. It is encountered more consistently in aspects of religious culture than in other branches, but is unmistakably present in social and material fields as well. The cleavage is pronounced in those elements which are fundamental to Plateau identity, such as social attitudes, religious dances, spirit quest, house types, canoe types, and the like.

The Klamath, far to the south, affiliate naturally with the southern area. The variations that they exhibit are largely reflections of practices of California and the Basin.

Neither the northern nor the southern area may be said to be the more typical of the Plateau. The two present distinctive variations upon certain fundamental Plateau themes; upon others they agree; and each contributes its measure of unique characteristics.

In contrast, the Athabascan area contributes little that is distinctive to the Plateau. It participates in a number of patterns known to the area, but these are of a general nature or appear to be borrowed elements. To this there are a few marked exceptions. A striking example is the unique house type discussed above. A partial appearance of common culture results from the Athabascan and the northern areas participating in similar traits borrowed from the Coast. This appearance vanishes when only typical Plateau culture is considered. A succinct picture of Carrier culture prior to coastal modification is presented by Jenness:

> It is reasonable to suppose that before this change in their culture took place the Carriers were hardly to be distinguished from neighboring Athabaskan tribes; for even today the easternmost Carriers resemble the Sekani tribes to the northward as much as they do their kinsmen around Hazelton, Moricetown, and Babine lake who have been most exposed to west coast influence. If we may assume, then, their original resemblance to the Sekani and other neighboring Athabaskan tribes, the Carriers were formerly divided into a number of loosely organized groups each with its special hunting territory, a territory that was not subdivided again among the different families, but remained the possession of the entire group. Fixed dwellings were unknown; the groups simply wandered from one hunting or fishing ground to another, setting up tents of skin or rude shelters of brush and bark. Inheritance and descent were in the paternal line, there were no caste distinctions, no regular chiefs, and no special class of medicine men. Religious ideas were relatively simple. All living creatures were believed to be more or less endowed with supernatural power, which if rightly solicited they often placed at the service of man.[2]

[2] Jenness, *loc. cit.*

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Clearly this culture is one of marked contrasts with that typical of the Plateau. In religion the general statement here would indicate a parallel with the Plateau. But in details pronounced variance is noted.

The Athabascan area, particularly that occupied by the Carrier and Sekani, must, then, be set apart in the Plateau if not from it. The line of demarcation is a linguistic boundary only if the Chilcotin be included in the northern group. But the Chilcotin are of distinctly questionable affiliation and may be found, upon further study, to align rather with the south.

The linguistic differentiation of the Kutenai finds a slight correlation with general culture. but this seems incidental.

Again, in the American Plateau, a linguistic transition occurs, this time involving the Salish and Sahaptin stocks. The boundary crosses the Plateau laterally about two degrees (180 miles) south of the Canadian boundary. Thus the primary cultural division in the Plateau runs parallel to the primary linguistic boundary, but nearly two hundred miles north of it! The linguistic boundary itself in no way corresponds to cultural transitions, even of a secondary order. The Sahaptin-speaking Kittitas, for example, have far more in common with their Salishan neighbors on the north, the Wenatchi, than they have with their Sahaptin neighbors, the Yakima, on the south.

The crossing of the two longitudinal sub-areas and the two main lateral sub-areas creates a unique situation near the geographical center of the Plateau. Here all influences might blend, resulting in a more or less nondescript culture; or, older and more fundamental traits might persist here since outside influences would be greatly weakened in penetrating this far. The latter alternative appears to fit the case. The Southern Okanogan, Colville, Sanpoil, Lower Spokane, and Columbia may with reasonable safety be viewed as most representative of older levels and fundamental aspects of Plateau culture. A glance at the maps and charts herewith immediately suggests this; the text, I believe, confirms it.

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This classification of cultural subareas must be regarded as highly tentative. For a great part of the Basin no studies by trained investigators have been made. Indeed, it is simpler to cite the detailed researches than to indicate the relatively unknown regions. All of the northern Interior Salish have been reported by James A. Teit but each group has been treated very briefly with the exception of Coeur d'Alene.[14] The Sanpoil and Nespelem have been studied more fully by the author.[15] Dr. Leslie Spier and Dr. Edward Sapir worked with the Wishram[16] of the Columbia river near The Dalles; their findings throw some light upon the adjacent Klikitat and Wayampam. This meager list exhausts the published data. The results of work with the Southern Okanogan by a number of students, under Dr. Spier's direction, will appear in the near future. Researches with the Lakes and the Umatilla are under way by the author.

It is markedly apparent that much further work is required before other than an hypothetical characterization of the Basin will be possible. With caution, however, a few remarks may be made to assist the reader in picturing the area and in explanation of the divisions suggested. It may be assumed with relative safety that the Central Interior Salish represent the oldest stratum of Basin culture. Though this culture may at one time have been spread over a much wider area, prewhite cultural influences and historical factors resulted in modification of marginal Basin patterns of life to so great an extent that the relatively uninfluenced Central Interior Salish took on the appearance of a culture island. One of the greatest of these historical factors was the coming of the horse. Speaking generally, the Salish groups were much less affected by its advent, and the typical Plains traits which travelled with it, than were the Sahaptins. Except in a few superficial aspects of life the Central Interior Salish, barring the Columbia, remained

[14] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish"; James A. Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus (ed. by Franz Boas)" in *Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1930), XLV, 23-396.

[15] Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

[16] Leslie Spier and Edward Sapir, "Wishram Ethnography," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1930), III, 151-300.

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unchanged. The latter group, lying adjacent to Sahaptin peoples, took over the horse and its accoutrements with avidity but had not, even after 1850, lost its cultural identity through submersion by the whole complex of Plains traits.

The Northeastern Interior Salish was the unit of Salish most influenced by the horse culture complex. A further partial basis for their cultural differentiation lay in the characteristics of their habitat. The western boundaries of these groups roughly coincided with the line of transition from desert to upland country, while eastern boundaries fell well into the Rocky Mountains. Among many resultant cultural differences was the absence of salmon as the economic staple together with all associated traits. (Bear in mind that no such environmentally based difference existed between the Sanpoil and the Umatilla, for example.) The environmental factor played an even greater role in the culture of the Lakes. Their territory, extending far into the Canadian Rockies, consisted largely of long mountain ranges enclosing narrow valleys with precipitous sides. Navigable rivers and lakes lay within each of these interconnected valleys making canoe transportation highly feasible but any other type of travel scarcely possible. Horses of course were never accepted. Obviously the life led in such a habitat differed greatly from that of the desert-dwelling peoples to the south. The very fact that in spite of these environmental differences the Lakes maintained many typical Basin traits demands that culturally they be considered essentially Basin peoples.

The principal traits upon which the Cascade Interior Salish are separately classed are the same ones which link them with their Coast Salish neighbors. Thus normal trans-mountain intercourse easily accounts for the identity of this unit.

Turning to the Sahaptin subdivisions we find both to be characterized by a deep veneer of Plains traits setting them apart from the Salish much more distinctly than from each other. However, the Northeastern Sahaptins have been longer and more intimately in contact with Plains peoples (or those with long established Plains traits, as the Nez Perce) than the

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

619

Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids.

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223.

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pshawanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food, and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May; fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Opp. Trv.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 128; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Cox's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

[169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt*. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–9. 'Ils.....faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, on de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

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cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

[172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Heclor*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 208, 214, 223, 238.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skynse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open, and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses.
533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah*, in constant repetition,....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-hą-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 108. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Journ.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.

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horse may have contributed somewhat to their present 177
spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, 231
each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by
clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by 182
the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never
taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as 492
the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also
learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation 771
has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized 787
the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with 492
their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wasco bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's Northw. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêteté, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 163–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 281, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

CULTURAL RELATIONS IN THE PLATEAU OF NORTHWESTERN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

THE Plateau of northwestern America, considered geographically, lies between the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Cascade Mountains on the west. The northern boundary is roughly the great bend of the Fraser River, while on the south this plateau merges with the Colorado Plateau.

In application to the cultural area the term is to a certain extent a misnomer. In the north, tribal areas include adjacent mountainous regions and a number of geological trenches. In fact, the area is quite rough and broken and geologists customarily speak of the interior "plateaus" rather than "plateau." Furthermore, considerable portions of the territories of two tribes, the Kutenai and the Flathead, lie east of the Rocky Mountains.

On the south the boundary is quite arbitrary so far as geography is concerned. Along the east slope of the Cascades the Plateau extends to the California border (to include the Klamath), but farther east the Blue Mountains mark the southern limit. The boundary, more specifically, is that separating Sahaptin and Shoshonean peoples. But even here there is an exception. The Modoc, southernmost of the Sahaptins, exhibit a culture of Californian aspect.[1]

For a long while the Plateau was looked upon as an area of lowly cultural development entirely lacking in individuality. This attitude is typically expressed by Spinden in the conclusion to his study of the Nez Percé Indians:

> One important fact stands out clearly. The culture of the [Plateau] area, as shown by one of its representative tribes, was purely a transitional culture. Its elements were drawn in nearly equal proportion from the Plains and from the Pacific coast. Only a small residuum of autochthonous ideas are found when the borrowed ones are excluded.[2]

[1] Information from Dr Leslie Spier, 1937. My own field work with the Modoc in 1938 points to the same conclusion.

[2] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 270.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Salishan-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

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General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 79 f.

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101 131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described — to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects — and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

606 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441–2, 504, 523–4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 196; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 131 181 197 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan....speak kindred dialects.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

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fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhapmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicule-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Om. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koctenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Advent.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wascó bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old [847] and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. [888] *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three [766] days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Advent.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's North. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. 181
Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêteté, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 163–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 281, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.

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181 inland native is almost unanimously pronounced superior to the dweller on the coast. The excitement of the chase, of war, and of athletic sports ennobles the mind as it develops the body; and although probably not by nature less indolent than their western neighbors, yet are these natives of the interior driven by circumstances to habits of industry, and have much less leisure time for the cultivation of the lower forms of vice. As a race, and compared with the average American aborigines, they are honest, intelligent, and pure in morals. Travelers are liable to form their estimate of national character from a view, perhaps unfair and prejudiced, of the actions of a few individuals encountered; consequently qualities the best and the worst have been given by some to each of the nations now under consideration. For the best reputation the Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais have always been rivals; their good qualities have been praised by all, priest, trader and tourist. Honest, just, and often charitable; ordinarily cold and reserved, but on occasions social and almost gay; quick-tempered and revengeful under what they consider in-

have 'fewer failings than any of the tribes I ever met.' Brave, quiet, and amenable to their chiefs. Spokanes 'quiet, honest, inoffensive,' but rather indolent. 'Thoughtless and improvident.' Okanagans 'Indolent rascals;' 'an honest and quiet tribe.' Sanspoils dirty, slothful, dishonest, quarrelsome, etc. Coeurs d'Alène 'uniformly honest;' 'more savage than their neighbours.' Kootenais honest, brave, jealous, truthful. Kamloops 'thieving and quarrelling.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 148, 192, 199, 239–40, 262–3, 344, vol. ii., pp. 44, 87–8, 109, 145–60. Okanagans active and industrious, revengeful, generous and brave. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 142, 290–5, 327–9. Skeen 'a hardy, brave people.' Cayuses far more vicious and ungovernable than the Walla Wallas. Nez Percés treacherous and villainous. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263, 280, 290, 307–8, 315. Nez Percés 'a quiet, civil, people, but proud and haughty.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128, 48, 53, 59, 61, 124–7. 'Kind to each other.' 'Cheerful and often gay, sociable, kind and affectionate, and anxious to receive instruction.' 'Lying scarcely known.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 97, 105, 232, 239, 303–4, 311–12. Of the Nicutemuchs 'the habitual vindictiveness of their character is fostered by the ceaseless feuds.' 'Nearly every family has a minor vendetta of its own.' 'The races that depend entirely or chiefly on fishing, are immeasurably inferior to those tribes who, with nerves and sinews braced by exercise, and minds comparatively ennobled by frequent excitement, live constantly amid war and the chase.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., pp. 77–80. Inland tribes of British Columbia less industrious and less provident than the more sedentary coast Indians. *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301, 297. Sahaptins 'cold, taciturn, high-tempered, warlike, fond of hunting.' Palouse, Yakimas, Kliketats, etc., of a 'less hardy and active temperament' than the Nez Percés. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 199, 210–13. Cayuses 'dreaded by their neigh-

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justice, but readily appeased by kind treatment; cruel only to captive enemies, stoical in the endurance of torture; devotedly attached to home and family; these natives probably come as near as it is permitted to flesh-and-blood savages to the traditional noble red man of the forest, sometimes met in romance. It is the pride and boast of the Flathead that his tribe has never shed the blood of a white man. Yet none, whatever their tribe, could altogether resist the temptation to steal horses from their neighbors of a different tribe, or in former times, to pilfer small articles, wonderful to the savage eye, introduced by Europeans. Many have been nominally converted by the zealous labors of the Jesuit Fathers, or Protestant missionaries; and several nations have greatly improved, in material condition as well as in character, under their change of faith. As Mr Alexander Ross remarks, "there is less crime in an Indian camp of five hundred souls than there is in a civilized village of but half that number. Let the lawyer or moralist point out the cause."

bors on account of their courage and warlike spirit.' Walla Wallas 'notorious as thieves since their first intercourse with whites.' 'Indolent, superstitious, drunken and debauched. Character of Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, Umatillas. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–9, 211, 218, 223, 282, 1861, pp. 164–5. Yakimas and Kliketats 'much superior to the river Indians.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 298, 403, 416, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 139. Wascos 'exceedingly vicious.' *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 169. The Nez Percés 'are, certainly, more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages.' Skyuses, Walla Wallas. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101, 287, 289–90, 300. Tushepaws; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Thompson River Indians rather a superior and clever race. *Victoria Colonist*, Oct., 1860. 'Indians from the Rocky mountains to the falls of Columbia, are an honest, ingenuous, and well disposed people,' but rascals below the falls. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 304. Flathead 'fierceness and barbarity in war could not be exceeded.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Flatheads, Walla Wallas and Nez Percés; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, pp. 171, 219. Kootenais; *Palliser's Explor.*, pp., 44, 73. Salish, Walla Wallas; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., p. 64. Walla Wallas, Cayuses, and Nez Percés; *White's Oregon*, p. 174. Walla Wallas, Kootenais; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 85, 178. Flatheads, Nez Percés; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 315, 326–8. Nez Percés; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 109; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268. Kayuses, Walla Wallas; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 156. Sahaptins; *Wilkes' Hist. Ogn.*, p. 106. Nez Percés; *Hastings' Emigrants' Guide*, p. 59. Flatheads; *Ind. Life*, pp. ix., x., 25. At Dalles; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 412. Shushwaps; *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 288–304, 313. At Dalles; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., p. 82; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43. Pend d'Oreilles; *Joset*, in *Id.*, 1849, tom. cxxiii., pp. 384–40.

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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of all unusual, impressive, or significant occurrences in terms of spirit power. Reference to one's own spirit was never specific, however, but always couched in vague or generic terms: 'my power,' 'my helper,' or, in colloquial English, 'my partner.' This last expression, heard constantly among these peoples even today, reflects most accurately the native attitude toward spirit power.[10]

This domination of life by spirit matters occurs with roughly equal intensity among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Kalispel, and Columbia. Emphasis is only slightly lighter among the Lakes, Spokane, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Wenatchi, and Kittitas, the last a Sahaptin group. Other Sahaptin peoples give markedly less attention to spirit matters but I cannot escape the conviction that this difference is of slight age and the direct result of Plains influence. All Sahaptin peoples share the extended Winter Spirit Dance with the Salish groups mentioned above.

In contrast, the interior Salish of British Columbia (exclusively) lack the Winter Spirit Dance entirely and emphasize the spirit quest and spirit causation more as formal ritual than as deep emotional ideology. For example, spirit intrusion and spirit loss as causes of illness are hardly present here, whereas to the south they are of momentous importance (see below). The period of absence on each spirit quest was considerably longer here than in the American Plateau, but this cannot be used as a criterion. The accumulated time after long repeated one-night quests might easily overbalance that of a single extended quest. The longest quests are found among the Lillooet where the duration may reach a year. Yet few persons engage in the quest and the whole concept plays a definitely minor role. The lengthening of the quest, both in this and in less extreme cases, is clearly the result of formalization and ritual emphasis, not religious intensity. The quest practice here of vigorously rubbing the body with conifer twigs might be interpreted as indicative of spiritual fervor if it were not that the custom is clearly borrowed from the Coast and that the identical explanation—ritual cleanliness—is given for its observance. The same applies to induced vomiting.

The Chilcotin present no problem in this respect. Spirit concepts are clearly of secondary importance in their lives. Their practices lie intermediately between those of the Lillooet and the Carrier. The spirit pattern of the Carrier, while dramatic, does not for a moment contest

[10] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 593 f.

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with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point: 182 771

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned. 776 787

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses.
533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah*, in constant repetition,.....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ha-ha-ho-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 108. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40. *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rep't.*, 1854, p. 220.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. 'They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47. 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Pahlcer's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 89–; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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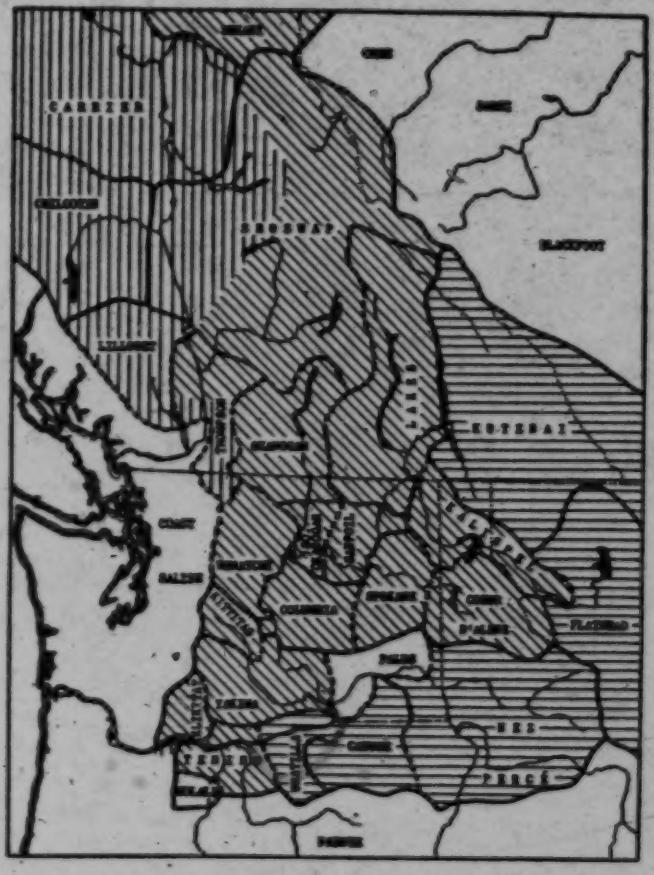
The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[23] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 134.
[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelim*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[37] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[38] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[39] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[40] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[37]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[38]See map, fig. 2.
[39]Kroeber, 14.
[40]See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

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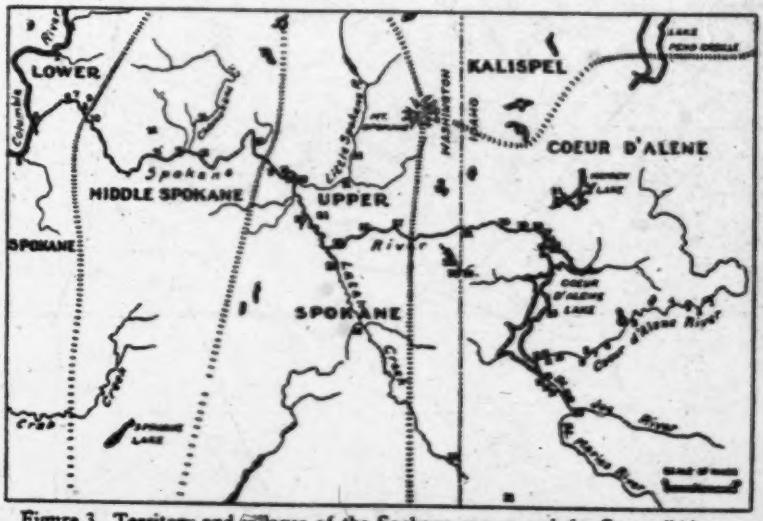

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

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Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[38] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

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[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask*; turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end*; Greek omega

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqalispi'lam (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate-'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: snəkâ'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich;* *x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach;* *c* as the English sound written *sh;* *l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l;* *q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

very often impossible to make any use of what might otherwise be valuable material because of the distortions and variations in the recording of native words.[7]

Further, I feel that it is methodologically preferable to handle separately data from field research and from historical sources unless they are distinctly supplementary one to the other or provide a check one upon the other. Important generalizations which might come from independent treatment are in danger of being lost by joint treatment in an attempt to reconcile apparent contradictions which are almost certain to be present in the two sets of data.

Finally, and to sum up, the object of this paper is to present a limited amount of reasonably complete and accurate source material of a usable nature, material which may be checked and supplemented in the field and from which tenable generalizations may be drawn.

II.

The physiographic province known as the Columbia Basin is the geographic unit which most nearly coincides with the cultural area here considered. The Basin is bounded on the west by the Cascade mountains, on the south by the Blue mountains, on the east and the north by relatively low lying extensions of the Rocky Mountains, particularly the Selkirk range and the Okanogan Highlands. The habitat of the northeasternmost peoples here treated extended for some distance into the Northern Rocky Mountain province.

Geologically the Columbia Basin is strikingly characterized by a succession of lava flows reaching a thickness of 4000 feet in some places. The Columbia river, which drains all of the Basin as well as large adjacent areas, has cut a huge canyon hundreds of feet deep through this bed of basalt. The bed further has been broken up by gorges cut by ancient streams and by the river at times when it temporarily was blocked from

[7] Such distortion is of course unavoidable without an adequate method of phonetic transcription. For reference to the method now in use see footnote 37.

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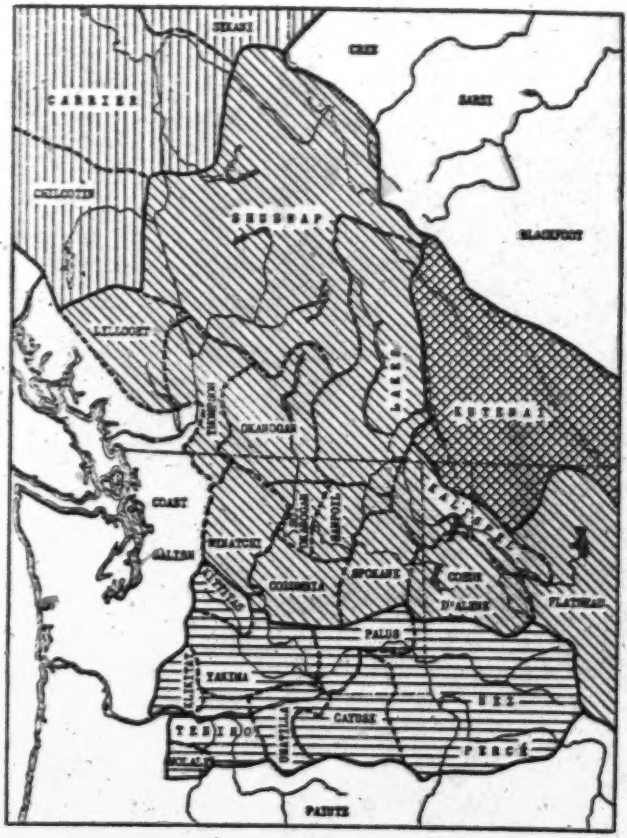

MAP 1. Linguistic stocks in the Plateau. *Horizontal hatching:* Sahaptin; *diagonal hatching:* Salish; *vertical hatching:* Athabascan; *cross hatching:* Kutenai.

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On the maps throughout this paper the solid lines indicate linguistic stock boundaries; the broken lines separate ethnic or tribal groups. A few groups, for which little or no information is available, are omitted. Thus in the northern part of the territory assigned to the Wenatchi are found the Chelan and Methow; in the eastern lobe of the territory including the Sanpoil are the Colville; to the east of the Yakima are the Wayampam; southwest of the Palus are the Walula. The specific locations of these groups may be found in Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 85; Ray, *Village Locations*, maps; Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 386. In indicating distributions on the maps it has been assumed that the Chelan and Methow agree in culture with the Wenatchi, the Colville with the Sanpoil. We know this to be justified in general, but small corrections may be necessary in the future. The name Sanpoil is

Plateau culture could hardly be more grossly misinterpreted. Proof of this is contained throughout the following pages. Spinden was led astray in two ways: first, he interpreted the heavy Plains overlay that he found among the Nez Percé as typical of the Plateau; secondly, he found few autochthonous ideas because he was doing pioneer work and his brief investigation failed to bring them to light.

The individuality of Plateau culture was first emphasized by Spier in his illuminating survey based upon Klamath customs.[3] Spier's task was specifically that of placing the Klamath in proper cultural setting; at the same time the Plateau was given its first general orientation. The data available to him were insufficient, however, to determine intra-areal relations. But in recent years the Plateau has been receiving a greater share of attention, with the result that no large portion remains entirely unknown.

An attempt is here made to describe the conditions under which the cultural diversity of the Plateau has developed; further, to picture the conceptual structures of various significant complexes in Plateau culture. Several fundamental complexes from the Plateau stock are examined, but no attempt is made to exhaust that stock. Social life receives a considerably greater share of attention than material culture. The former has proved more satisfactory for comparative study, partly because of the nature of the complexes, and partly in consequence of the quality of the available data. And possibly a bias of the author is reflected.

For the most part the structures examined are those within the Plateau since the objective is a picture of intra-areal relationships. But not infrequently the paths followed lead into adjacent areas, and sometimes into the problems of those areas.

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used throughout to designate both Sanpoil and Nespelem; the cultures are identical (Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*).

The Sahaptin-Shoshonean boundary represents conditions prior to 1800. During the nineteenth century this boundary was situated somewhat farther south. This movement is discussed by Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*.

[3] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 224–325.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

dian zone is marked by the presence of the Engelmann spruce *(Picea engelmanni)* and the western larch *(Larix occidentalis)*. In the Hudsonian, highest of timbered plant zones, may be seen the white bark pine *(Pinus albicaulis)* and the subalpine fir *(Abies lasiocarpa)*."

III.

The linguistic stocks represented among the Columbia Basin groups here considered are Salish and Sahaptin. The term Interior Salish is applied to the division of the former lying east of the Cascade mountains. Roughly the northern half of the Basin is occupied by Salish-speaking peoples while the southern half is Sahaptin in speech. Specifically the Salish include the Lakes, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alene, Spokanes, Colville, Chewelah, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan, Methow, Chelan, Wenatchi and Columbia. The Sahaptin are represented by the Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Wayampam, Umatilla, Cayuse, Walula, Wanapam, Wauyukma, Palus and the adjacent Nez Perce. It was formerly thought that Cayuse, together with Molale in and west of the Oregon Cascades, represented a distinct linguistic stock, the so-called Waiilatpuan. Dr. Melville Jacobs recently has shown this to be merely a widely divergent dialect of Sahaptin.[12]

Interior Salish has been studied systematically only by Dr. Gladys Reichard, whose work is not yet available, but native classifications serve to indicate the major subgroups. Dialects within each of these subgroups are mutually intelligible but are unintelligible to other groups. Comprising one group are the Lakes, Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem and Southern Okanogan; another, the Columbia, Chelan, Methow and Wenatchi; a third, the Chewelah, Kalispel, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; and a fourth, the Coeur d'Alene.

[11]Charles V. Piper, "Flora of the State of Washington," in *Contributions from the U.S. Herbarium* (Washington, 1906), XI, 33-72.

[12]Melville Jacobs, "A Sketch of Northern Sahaptin Grammar," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1931), IV, 93-96.

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The two subgroups of Sahaptin which are of concern here are Northern Sahaptin and Molale-Cayuse. The former includes all dialects spoken by Columbia Basin groups with the exception of Cayuse. It should be mentioned that the neighboring Nez Perce constitutes a third division, unintelligible to either of the others but less divergent from Northern Sahaptin than Molale-Cayuse. Northern Sahaptin in turn may be divided into Northwest Sahaptin dialects and Umatilla reservation dialects. "Among northwest Sahaptins [Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam, Wanapam] a few immaterial phonetic changes and morphologic specializations that sound amusing but never unintelligible to the speaker of an adjacent band, and some scores or hundreds of unimportant vocabulary and idiomatic details are all that make for provincialism or dialect boundaries. . . . The Umatilla, Walula and Palus provincialisms spoken on the Umatilla reservation of northern Oregon constitute a dialect intelligible to all the northwest Sahaptins and like the latter differ with one another in minor morphologic and vocabulary detail. Northwest Sahaptin and Umatilla reservation dialects have a number of interesting morphologic and phonetic points of difference in spite of mutual intelligibility."[13]

IV.

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Cultural subdivisions may not be indicated with the finesse possible for dialect groups. Yet several units stand out with relative clarity. They may be designated as follows: (a) the Lakes; (b) the Central Interior Salish, including Colville, Lower Spokane, Sanpoil, Nespelem, Southern Okanogan and Columbia; (c) the Cascade Interior Salish, namely the Methow, Chelan and Wenatchi; (d) the Northeastern Interior Salish, including the Kalispel, Chewelah, Coeur d'Alene, Upper Spokane and Middle Spokane; (e) the Northwestern Sahaptins, including the Kittitas, Yakima, Wayampam and Wanapam; and (f) the Northeastern Sahaptins, comprising the Umatilla, Walula, Palus and Cayuse.

[13] *Ibid.*, 96.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

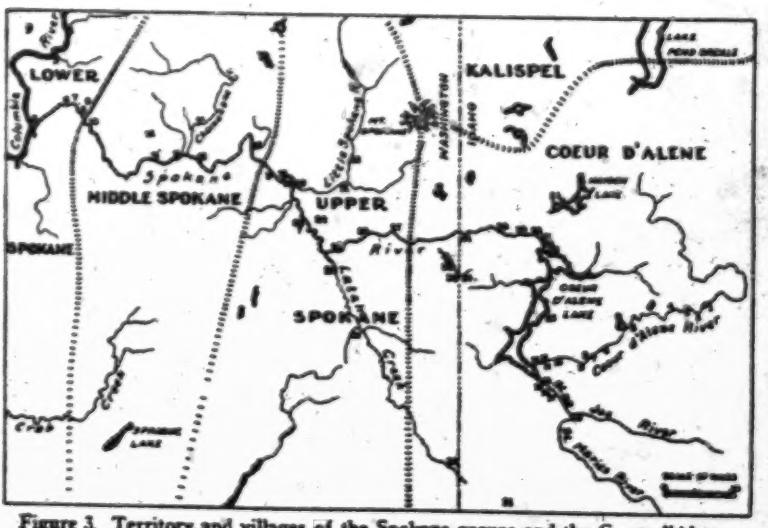

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqalispi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate 'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smaka'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqasi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39]Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40]Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41]Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

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101 131 THE INLAND FAMILIES, constituting the fifth and last division of the Columbians, inhabit the region between the Cascade Range and the eastern limit of what I term the Pacific States, from 52° 30′ to 45° of north latitude. These bounds are tolerably distinct; though that on the south, separating the eastern portions of the Columbian and Californian groups, is irregular and marked by no great river, mountain chain, or other prominent physical feature. These inland natives of the Northwest occupy, in person, character, and customs, as well as in the location of their home, an intermediate position between the coast people already described — to whom they are pronounced superior in most respects — and the Rocky Mountain or eastern tribes. Travelers crossing the Rocky Mountains into this territory from the east, or entering it from the Pacific by way of the Columbia or Fraser, note contrasts on passing the limits, sufficient to justify me in regarding its inhabitants as one people for the purposes aimed at in this volume.[140] Instead, there-

000 *Trav.*, pp. 416, 441–2, 504, 523–4. 'Thorough-bred hypocrites and liars.' 'The Killymucks the most roguish.' Industry, patience, sobriety and ingenuity are their chief virtues; thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling and cruelty may be classed among their vices. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 115, 131, 296–7, 302, 304–5, 321, vol. ii., p. 133. At Wishiam 'they were a community of arrant rogues and freebooters.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 322, 342. 'Lying is very common; thieving comparatively rare.' *White's Ogn.*, p. 207. 'Do not appear to possess a particle of natural good feeling.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 183. At Coos Bay 'by no means the fierce and warlike race found further to the northward.' *Wells*, in *Harper's Mag.*, vol. xiii., p. 601. Umqua and Coose tribes are naturally industrious; the Suislaws the most advanced; the Alcea not so enterprising. *Sykes*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1860, p. 215. Calapooias, a poor, cowardly, and thievish race. *Miller*, in *Id.*, 1857, p. 364; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 87, vol. ii., pp. 16, 36; *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 84, 105; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 249–50; *Ind. Life*, pp. 1–4, 210; *Fitzgerald's Vanc. Isl.*, p. 196; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 207, etc.

101 131 181 197 [140] 'They all resemble each other in general characteristics.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 229. Shushwaps and Salish all one race. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 296–7. 'The Indians of the interior are, both physically and morally, vastly superior to the tribes of the coast.' *Id.*, p. 242. 'The Kliketat near Mount Rainier, the Walla-Wallas, and the Okanagan ....speak kindred dialects.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170. The best-supported opinion is that the inland were of the same original stock with the lower tribes. *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 316. 'On leaving the verge of the Carrier country, near Alexandria, a marked change is at once perceptible.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Inland tribes differ widely from the piscatorial tribes. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. 'Those residing near the Rocky Mountains....are and always have been superior races to those living on the lower Columbia.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654. 'I was particularly struck with their

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fore, of treating each family separately, as has been done with the coast divisions of the group, I deem it more convenient, as well as less monotonous to the reader, to avoid repetition by describing the manners and customs of all the people within these limits together, taking care to note such variations as may be found to exist. The division into families and nations, made according to principles already sufficiently explained, is as follows, beginning again at the north:

THE SHUSHWAPS, our first family division, live between 52° 30′ and 49° in the interior of British Columbia, occupying the valleys of the Fraser, Thompson, and Upper Columbia rivers with their tributary streams and lakes. They are bounded on the west by the Nootkas and on the north by the Carriers, from both of which families they seem to be distinct. As national divisions of this family may be mentioned the Shushwaps proper, or *Atnahs*,[141] who occupy the whole northern portion of the territory; the *Okanagans*,[142] in the valley of the lake and river of the same name; and the *Kootenais*,[143] who

vast superiority (on the Similkameen River, Lat. 49° 30′, Long. 120° 30′) in point of intelligence and energy to the Fish Indians on the Fraser River, and in its neighbourhood.' *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Striking contrast noted in passing up the Columbia. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199.

[141] 'The Shewhapmuch....who compose a large branch of the Saeliss family,' known as *Nicute-much*—corrupted by the Canadians into Couteaux—below the junction of the Fraser and Thompson. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 76–7. Atnahs is their name in the Takali language, and signifies 'strangers.' 'Differ so little from their southern neighbors, the Salish, as to render a particular description unnecessary.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. They were called by Mackenzie the Chin tribe, according to *Prichard's Researches*, vol. v., p. 427, but Mackenzie's Chin tribe was north of the Atnahs, being the Nagailer tribe of the Carriers. See *Mackenzie's Voy.*, pp. 257–8, and map.

[142] 'About Okanagan, various branches of the Carrier tribe.' *Nicolay's Orn. Ter.*, p. 143. 'Okanagans, on the upper part of Frazer's River.' *Ludewig, Ab. Lang.*, p. 170.

[143] Also known as Flat-bows. 'The poorest of the tribes composing the Flathead nation.' *McCormick*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1867, p. 211. 'Speaking a language of their own, it is not easy to imagine their origin; but it appears probable that they once belonged to some more southern tribe, from which they became shut off by the intervention of larger tribes.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. 'In appearance, character, and customs, they resemble more the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains than those of Lower Oregon.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 205. 'Les Arcs-à-Plats, et les Koetenais sont connus dans le pays sous le nom de Skalzi.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Oré-gon*, p. 80.

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inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alène*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwater of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Ib.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitswish*, and Coeur d'Alène, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiarlpi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudieres*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

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Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[304] [197] [177] [361]

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes,"' in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoigu-rik-kah, Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54.

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wălă-Wălă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 213.

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pahawanwappam lands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac*

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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622 of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a
624 voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

562 Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of
622 central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

[177] The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

183 Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to
554 the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast.
555 The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along
829 the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

554 The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them
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567
829

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

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221 [For additional information on sites occupied during various phases of the annual fishing and hunting cycle, see pp. 124-151, in category 116.]

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33]This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

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strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, between June and September, varying a month or more according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

[163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

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as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.[165]

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

[165] The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; *n'poolthla*, ground into flour; *mamum* and *sekywa*, made into bitter white cakes; *kamass*; *calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat kamash and an edible moss. *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The Cayooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Perces. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash*, *cowish* or biscuit root, *yackap*, *aisish*, *quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp, 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect camash, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214–15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 327. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *konah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahseego*, camas, or 'water seego,' is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (alectoria ?). Kamas also eaten. *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *poplah*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spallum*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *lucka*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marani*, a grain. *Ir[illegible]'s Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food, and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May: fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chandiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Oréyon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Salmatin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Oga. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 265–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Cox's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

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huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Haal*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

1 [See pp. 232-233, category 116 -- Analyst]

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The coat dress -- robes or blankets of bark-fibre or
291 small skins—is also used for some distance inland on the banks of the Columbia and Fraser, as among the Nicoutamuch, Kliketats, and Wascos; but the distinctive inland dress is of dressed skin of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep; made into a rude frock, or shirt, with loose sleeves; leggins reaching half-way up the thigh, and either bound to the leg or attached by strings to a belt about the waist; moccasins, and rarely a cap. Men's frocks descend half-way to the knees; women's nearly to the ankles. Over this dress, or to conceal the want of some part of it, a buffalo or elk robe is worn, espe-
[531] cially in winter. All garments are profusely and often tastefully decorated with leather fringes, feathers, shells, and porcupine quills; beads, trinkets and various bright-colored cloths having been added to Indian ornamenta-
296 tion since the whites came. A new suit of this native skin clothing is not without beauty, but by most tribes the suit is worn without change till nearly ready to drop off, and becomes disgustingly filthy. Some tribes clean and whiten their clothing occasionally with white earth,
[224] or pipe-clay. The buffalo and most of the other large skins are obtained from the country east of the mountains.[161]

[161] The Ootlashoot women wear 'a long shirt of skin, reaching down to
291 the ancles, and tied round the waist.' Few ornaments. The Nez Percés
301 wear 'the buffalo or elk-skin robe decorated with beads, sea-shells, chiefly mother-of-pearl, attached to an otter-skin collar and hung in the hair.' Leggins and moccasins are painted; a plait of twisted grass is worn round the neck. The women wear their long robe without a girdle, but to it 'are tied little pieces of brass and shells, and other small articles.' 'The dress of the female is indeed more modest, and more studiously so than any we have observed, though the other sex is careless of the indelicacy of exposure.' 'The Sokulk females have no other covering but a truss or piece of leather tied round the hips and then drawn tight between the legs.' Three fourths of the Pisquitpaws 'have scarcely any robes at all.' The Chilluckittequaws use skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild cats. 'Round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340–1, 351, 359, 361, 377, 526, 528, 532–3.
[292] Many of the Walla Walla, Nez Percé, and Cayuse females wore robes 'richly garnished with beads, higuas,' etc. The war chief wears as a head-dress the whole skin of a wolf's head, with the ears standing erect. The Okanagans wear in winter long detachable sleeves or mittens of wolf or fox skin, also wolf or bear skin caps when hunting. Men and women dress nearly alike, and are profuse in the use of ornaments. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127, 294–8; *Id.*, *Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 306.
[296] The Flatheads often change their clothing and clean it with pipe-clay. They have no regular head-dress. From the Ya-

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The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusahepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 279–80; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Opn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region; in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

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huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Huet*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

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The larger varieties of game are hunted by the natives on horseback wherever the nature of the country will permit. Buffalo are now never found west of the Rocky Mountains, and there are but few localities where large game has ever been abundant, at least since the country became known to white men. Consequently the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, the distinctively hunting nations, as well as bands from nearly every other tribe, cross the mountains once or twice each year, penetrating to the buffalo-plains between the Yellowstone and the Missouri, in the territory of hostile nations. The bow and arrow was the weapon with which buffalo and all other game were shot. No peculiar cunning seems to have been necessary to the native hunter of buffalo; he had only to ride into the immense herds on his well-trained horse, and select the fattest animals for his arrows. Various devices are mentioned as being practiced in the chase of deer, elk, and mountain sheep; such as driving them by a circle of fire on the prairie towards the concealed hunters, or approaching within arrow-shot

then pulling out two or three hairs from his horse's tail for a line, tied the bit of leather to one end of it, in place of a hook or fly.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3. At the mouth of Flatbow River 'a dike of round stones, which runs up obliquely against the main stream, on the west side, for more than one hundred yards in length, resembling the foundation of a wall.' Similar range on the east side, supposed to be for taking fish at low water. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 165–6. West of the Rocky Mountains they fish 'with great success by means of a kind of large basket suspended from a long cord.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 240–1. On Powder River they use the hook as a gaff. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 283. A Wasco spears three or four salmon of twenty to thirty pounds each in ten minutes. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 506. No salmon are taken above the upper falls of the Columbia. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 392. Walla Walla fish-weirs 'formed of two curtains of small willow switches matted together with withes of the same plant, and extending across the river in two parallel lines, six feet asunder. These are supported by several parcels of poles,....and are either rolled up or let down at pleasure for a few feet....A seine of fifteen or eighteen feet in length is then dragged down the river by two persons, and the bottom drawn up against the curtain of willows.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 532. Make fishing-nets of flax. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 90. 'The Inland, as well as the Coast, tribes, live to a great extent upon salmon.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 242; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, pp. 152–3. Palouse 'live solely by fishing.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Salmon cannot ascend to Coeur d'Alêne Lake. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 209–10. Okanagan food 'consists principally of salmon and a small fish which they call carp.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 462. The Walla Wallas 'may well be termed the fishermen of the Skyuse camp.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82.

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by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[184]

Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

[184] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assinniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 297–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alêne, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alêne ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 212. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 23, 35–3; *Joset*, in *Id.*, tom. cxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

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For material on fishing methods see pp. 232-233, category 116.

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22b The salmon fisheries of the Columbia are now famous throughout the world. Once every year innumerable multitudes of these noble fish enter the river from the ocean to deposit their spawn. Impelled by instinct, they struggle to reach the extreme limits of the stream, working their way in blind desperation to the very sources of every little branch, overcoming seeming impossibilities, and only to fulfill their destiny and die; for if they escape human enemies, they either kill themselves in their mad efforts to leap impassable falls, or if their efforts are crowned with success, they are supposed never to return to the ocean. This fishery has always been the chief and an inexhaustible source of food for the Chinooks, who, although skillful fishermen, have not been obliged to invent a great variety of methods or implements for the capture of the salmon, which rarely if ever have failed them. Certain ceremonies must, however, be observed with the first fish taken; his meat must be cut only with the grain, and the hearts of all caught must be burned or eaten, and on no account be thrown into the water or be devoured by a dog. With these precautions there is no reason to suppose that the Chinook would ever lack a supply of fish. The salmon begin to run in April, but remain several weeks in the

ing the purpose of a door-way. 'The fire-place is sunk into the earth, and confined from spreading above by a wooden frame.' *Vancouver's Voy.*, vol. ii., p. 77. Emmons, in *Schoolcraft's Archives*, vol. iii., p. 206, speaks of a palisade enclosure ten or fifteen feet high, with a covered way to the river. 'The Indian huts on the banks of the Columbia are, for the most part, constructed of the bark of trees, pine branches, and brambles, which are sometimes covered with skins or rags.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 260. But 'the Chinooks build their houses of thick and broad planks,' etc. *Id.* Lewis and Clarke saw a house in the Willamette Valley two hundred and twenty-six feet long, divided into two ranges of large apartments separated by a narrow alley four feet wide. *Travels*, pp. 502–4, 509, 431–2, 415–16, 409, 392. The door is a piece of board 'which hangs loose by a string, like a sort of pendulum,' and is self-closing. *Swan's N. W. Coast*, pp. 110–11. 'The tribes near the coast remove less frequently than those of the interior.' *California, Past, Present and Future*, p. 133. 'I never saw more than four fires, or above eighty persons—slaves and all—in the largest house.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 98–9; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 88, 108; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 322; *Nicolay's Oga.*, 144, 148–9; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 327, from *Lewis and Clarke*; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 135–7, from *Lewis and Clarke*; *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 144–5, 178–9, 245; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 247–8; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 65; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 181; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 187–8; *Hale's Ethnog. in U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 204, 216–17; *Strickland's Hist. Missions*, pp. 135–9.

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warmer waters near the mouth, and are there taken while in their best condition, by the Chinook tribe proper, with a straight net of bark or roots, sometimes five hundred feet long and fifteen feet deep, with floats and sinkers. One end of the net is carried out into the river at high water, and drawn in by the natives on the shore, who with a mallet quiet the fish and prevent them from jumping over the net and escaping. Farther up, especially at the Cascades and at the falls of the Willamette, salmon are speared by natives standing on the rocks or on planks placed for the purpose; scooped up in small dip-nets; or taken with a large unbaited hook attached by a socket and short line to a long pole. There is some account of artificial channels of rocks at these places, but such expedients were generally not needed, since, beside those caught by the Chinooks, such numbers were cast on the rocks by their own efforts to leap the falls, that the air for months was infected by the decaying mass; and many of these in a palatable state of decay were gathered by the natives for food. Hooks, spears, and nets were sometimes rubbed with the juice of certain plants supposed to be attractive to the fish. Once taken, the salmon were cleaned by the women, dried in the sun and smoked in the lodges; then they were sometimes powdered fine between two stones, before packing in skins or mats for winter use. The heads were always eaten as favorite portions during the fishing season. Next to the salmon the sturgeon was ranked as a source of food. This fish, weighing from two hundred to five hundred pounds, was taken by a baited hook, sunk about twenty feet, and allowed to float down the current; when hooked, the sturgeon rises suddenly and is dispatched by a spear, lifted into the canoe by a gaff-hook, or towed ashore. The Chinooks do not attack the whale, but when one is accidentally cast upon the shore, more or less decayed, a season of feasting ensues and the native heart is glad. Many smaller varieties of fish are taken by net, spear, hook, or rake, but no methods are employed meriting special description. Wild fowl are

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Repts.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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226 strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day [624] by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in 221 most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, 226 between June and September, varying a month or more 527 according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble 796 to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

226 [163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the Lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rep.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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The larger varieties of game are hunted by the natives on horseback wherever the nature of the country will permit. Buffalo are now never found west of the Rocky Mountains, and there are but few localities where large game has ever been abundant, at least since the country became known to white men. Consequently the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, the distinctively hunting nations, as well as bands from nearly every other tribe, cross the mountains once or twice each year, penetrating to the buffalo-plains between the Yellowstone and the Missouri, in the territory of hostile nations. The bow and arrow was the weapon with which buffalo and all other game were shot. No peculiar cunning seems to have been necessary to the native hunter of buffalo; he had only to ride into the immense herds on his well-trained horse, and select the fattest animals for his arrows. Various devices are mentioned as being practiced in the chase of deer, elk, and mountain sheep; such as driving them by a circle of fire on the prairie towards the concealed hunters, or approaching within arrow-shot

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The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusshepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 29–30; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Ogn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

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224 23 484 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[164]

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

224 484 [721] [221]

[164] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assinniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 297–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 25, 35–9; *Josel*, in *Id.*, tom. cxxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

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knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

[169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt*. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Far Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–8. 'Ils....faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, ou de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 435; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

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led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

[172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 208, 214, 223, 238.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Klikatat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses. 533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah,* in constant repetition,....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 238–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.

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horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Lomnech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,

and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May; fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chandiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Klikatats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p, 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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The dwellings are
342 arranged in small villages generally located in winter on
361 the banks of small streams a little away from the main rivers. For a short distance up the Columbia, houses similar to those of the Chinooks are built of split cedar and bark. The Walla Wallas, living in summer in the ordinary mat lodge, often construct for winter a subterranean abode by digging a circular hole ten or twelve feet deep, roofing it with poles or split cedar covered with grass and mud, leaving a small opening at the top for exit and entrance by means of a notched-log ladder. The Atnahs on Fraser River spend the winter in similar structures, a simple slant roof of mats or bark sufficing for shade and shelter in summer. The Okanagans construct their lodges over an excavation in the ground several feet deep, and like many other nations, cover their matting in winter with grass and earth.[162]

[162] The Sokulk houses 'generally of a square or oblong form, varying in length from fifteen to sixty feet, and supported in the inside by poles or forks about six feet high.' The roof is nearly flat. The Echeloot and Chilluckittequaw houses were of the Chinook style, partially sunk in the ground. The Nez Percés live in houses built 'of straw and mats, in the form of the roof of a house.' One of these 'was one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and about fifteen wide, closed at the ends, and having a number of doors on each side.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 351, 369–70, 381–2, 540. Nez Percé dwellings twenty to seventy feet long and from ten to fifteen feet wide; free from vermin. Flathead houses conical but spacious, made of buffalo and moose skins over long poles. Spokane lodges oblong or conical, covered with skins or mats. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148, 192, 200. Nez Percé and Cayuse lodges 'composed of ten long poles, the lower ends of which are pointed and driven into the ground; the upper blunt and drawn together at the top by thongs' covered with skins. 'Universally used by the mountain Indians while travelling.' Umatillas live in 'shantys or wigwams of driftwood, covered with buffalo or deer skins.' Klicatats 'in miserable loose hovels.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 104–5, 156, 174. Okanagan winter lodges are long and narrow, 'chiefly of mats and poles, covered over with grass and earth;' dug one or two feet below the surface; look like the roof of a common house set on the ground. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 313–4. On the Yakima River 'a small canopy, hardly sufficient to shelter a sheep, was found to contain four generations of human beings.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 34, 37. On the Clearwater 'there are not more than four lodges in a place or village, and these small camps or villages are eight or ten miles apart.' 'Summer lodges are made of willows and flags,
[251] and their winter lodges of split pine.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 212, 221, 223. At Kettle Falls, the lodges are of rush mats.' 'A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309, 272–3. The Pend d'Oreilles roll their tent-mats into cylindrical bundles for convenience in traveling. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 215, 238, 282. *Barnhart*, in *Id.*, 1862, p. 271. The Shushwap den is warm but 'necessarily unwholesome, and redolent....of anything but roses.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Yakimas, 'rude

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as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.[165]

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

[165] The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; *n'poolthla*, ground into flour; *mamum* and *sekyua*, made into bitter white cakes; *kamass*; *calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat kamash and an edible moss. *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The Cayooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Perces. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash*, *cowish* or biscuit root, *jackap*, *alsish*, *quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp, 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect camash, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214–15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 327. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *konah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahsecgo*, camas, or 'water seego,' is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (alectoria?). Kamas also eaten. *Pickering's Races in U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor Tour.*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *popkak*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spatlam*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *ilusku*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marani*, a grain. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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251 is also pulverized between two stones and packed in baskets lined with fish-skin. Here, as on the coast, the heads and offal only are eaten during the fishing-season.
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262 cooking. Roots, mosses, and such berries as are preserved, are usually kept in cakes, which for eating are moistened, mixed in various proportions and cooked, or eaten without preparation. To make the cakes simply drying, pulverizing, moistening, and sun-drying usually suffice; but camas and pine-moss are baked or fermented for several days in an underground kiln by means of hot stones, coming out in the form of a dark gluey paste of the proper consistency for moulding. Many of these powdered roots may be preserved for years without injury. Boiling by means of hot stones and roasting on sharp sticks fixed in the ground near the fire, are the
264 universal methods of cooking. No mention is made of peculiar customs in eating; to eat often and much is the aim; the style of serving is a secondary consideration.[166]
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[166] At the Dalles 'during the fishing season, the Indians live entirely on the heads, hearts and offal of the salmon, which they string on sticks, and roast over a small fire.' Besides pine-moss, the Okanagans use the seed of the balsam oriza pounded into meal, called *mielito*. 'To this is added the *sifleurs*.' Berries made into cakes by the Nez Percés. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 462, 494. Quamash, 'eaten either in its natural state, or boiled into a kind of soup, or made into a cake, which is then called pasheco.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 330, 353, 365, 369. Women's headdress serves the Flatheads for cooking, etc. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 193–9; *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The dog's tongue is the only dish-cloth known' to the Okanagans. Pine-moss cooked, or *squill-ape*, will keep for years. 'At their meals they generally eat separately and in succession—man, woman and child.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3, 295, 317–18. 'Most of their food is roasted, and they excel in roasting fish.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 231, 107. 'Pine moss, which they boil till it is reduced to a sort of glue or black paste, of a sufficient consistence to take the form of biscuit.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 279. Couse tastes like parsnips, is dried and pulverized, and sometimes boiled with meat. *Alcord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. Root bread on the Clearwater tastes like that made of pumpkins. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 202–3. Kamas after coming from the kiln is 'made into large cakes, by being mashed, and pressed together, and slightly baked in the sun.' Whiteroot, pulverized with stones, moistened and sun-baked, tastes not unlike stale biscuits. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 126–7. Camas and sun-flower seed mixed with salmon-heads caused in the eater great distension of the stomach. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 509–11. *Soucie*, is the name of the mixture last named, among the Cayuses. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 310; *Ind. Life*, p. 41; *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 272–3; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214–15.

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Pallisr's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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[166] At the Dalles 'during the fishing season, the Indians live entirely on the heads, hearts and offal of the salmon, which they string on sticks, and roast over a small fire.' Besides pine-moss, the Okanagans use the seed of the balsam oriza pounded into meal, called *midlito*. 'To this is added the *sifleurs*.' Berries made into cakes by the Nez Percés. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 462, 494. Quamash, 'eaten either in its natural state, or boiled into a kind of soup, or made into a cake, which is then called pasheco.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 330, 353, 365, 369. Women's headdress serves the Flatheads for cooking, etc. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 193–9; *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The dog's tongue is the only dish-cloth known' to the Okanagans. Pine-moss cooked, or *squill-ape*, will keep for years. 'At their meals they generally eat separately and in succession—man, woman and child.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3, 295, 317–18. 'Most of their food is roasted, and they excel in roasting fish.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 231, 107. 'Pine moss, which they boil till it is reduced to a sort of glue or black paste, of a sufficient consistence to take the form of biscuit.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 279. Couse tastes like parsnips, is dried and pulverized, and sometimes boiled with meat. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. Root bread on the Clearwater tastes like that made of pumpkins. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 202–3. Kamas after coming from the kiln is 'made into large cakes, by being mashed, and pressed together, and slightly baked in the sun.' Whiteroot, pulverized with stones, moistened and sun-baked, tastes not unlike stale biscuits. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 126–7. Camas and sun-flower seed mixed with salmon-heads caused in the eater great distension of the stomach. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 509–11. *Sowale*, is the name of the mixture last named, among the Cayuses. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 310; *Ind. Life*, p. 41; *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 272–3; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214–15.

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,

and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167]

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns,

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May: fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Oréyon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 263–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206.

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 230, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Cox's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

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251 is also pulverized between two stones and packed in baskets lined with fish-skin. Here, as on the coast, the heads and offal only are eaten during the fishing-season.
252 The Walla Wallas are said usually to eat fish without
262 cooking. Roots, mosses, and such berries as are preserved, are usually kept in cakes, which for eating are moistened, mixed in various proportions and cooked, or eaten without preparation. To make the cakes simply drying, pulverizing, moistening, and sun-drying usually suffice; but camas and pine-moss are baked or fermented for several days in an underground kiln by means of hot stones, coming out in the form of a dark gluey paste of the proper consistency for moulding. Many of these powdered roots may be preserved for years without injury. Boiling by means of hot stones and roasting on sharp sticks fixed in the ground near the fire, are the
264 universal methods of cooking. No mention is made of peculiar customs in eating; to eat often and much is the aim; the style of serving is a secondary consideration.[166]
000 Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,

252 262 264

[166] At the Dalles 'during the fishing season, the Indians live entirely on the heads, hearts and offal of the salmon, which they string on sticks, and roast over a small fire.' Besides pine-moss, the Okanagans use the seed of the balsam oriza pounded into meal, called *mielito*. 'To this is added the *sifleurs*.' Berries made into cakes by the Nez Percés. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 462, 494. Quamash, 'eaten either in its natural state, or boiled into a kind of soup, or made into a cake, which is then called pasheco.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 330, 353, 365, 369. Women's headdress serves the Flatheads for cooking, etc. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 193–9; *Id., Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The dog's tongue is the only dish-cloth known' to the Okanagans. Pine-moss cooked, or *squill-ape*, will keep for years. 'At their meals they generally eat separately and in succession—man, woman and child.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3, 295, 317–18. 'Most of their food is roasted, and they excel in roasting fish.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 231, 107. 'Pine moss, which they boil till it is reduced to a sort of glue or black paste, of a sufficient consistence to take the form of biscuit.' *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 279. Couse tastes like parsnips, is dried and pulverized, and sometimes boiled with meat. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. Root bread on the Clearwater tastes like that made of pumpkins. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 202–3. Kamas after coming from the kiln is 'made into large cakes, by being mashed, and pressed together, and slightly baked in the sun.' Whiteroot, pulverized with stones, moistened and sun-baked, tastes not unlike stale biscuits. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 126–7. Camas and sun-flower seed mixed with salmon-heads caused in the eater great distension of the stomach. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., pp. 509–11. *Sowte*, is the name of the mixture last named, among the Cayuses. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 310; *Ind. Life*, p. 41; *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 272–3; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214–15.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 92. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses. 533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah*, in constant repetition,....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ko-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Journ.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rep't.*, 1854, p. 220.

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together for matting. Rude bowls and spoons are sometimes dug out of horn or wood, but the fingers, with pieces of bark and small mats are the ordinary table furniture. Skins are dressed by spreading, scraping off the flesh, and for some purposes the hair, with a sharp piece of bone, stone, or iron attached to a short handle, and used like an adze. The skin is then smeared with the animal's brains, and rubbed or pounded by a very tedious process till it becomes soft and white, some hides being previously smoked and bleached with white clay.[m]

On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

[m] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes ..... font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

and less care. The reason for this transition is problematical. It may have been associated with the coming of the horse and the greater mobility, even in wintertime, thus made possible. The winter mat lodge is designed as a stationary structure, but can be moved, and is characteristically re-erected each year. The earth lodge requires maintenance of residence in the same spot each winter if it is to be utilized.

Mat Lodges

The mat lodges of the Plateau fall naturally into groups based on ground plans and cross-sections. Other features are less definitive, both as to type and distribution. Framework, for example, varies in many respects, of which only a few are fundamental; most of these variations are local. The covering, on the other hand, is similar over the entire area. The mats are of rushes which are usually sewn, but sometimes twined or partly twined. Cattail or tule is used depending largely upon availability; tule is the more widespread. Grass mats are occasionally used by the Shuswap.

The ground plan has three essential variants: (1) rectangular; (2) parallel sides with rounded ends; (3) rectangular with one end rounded. Associated with any one of these plans may be either of the two cross-section types: inverted-V, and gabled with vertical walls. (The other logical variation, shed roof, is not found.) Specific combinations of plan and section present fairly exclusive distributions.

The Canadian area, excepting the Lakes, is characterized by the lodge of rectangular plan and inverted-V section, or wedge shape. The side walls slope from ridge to ground; the ends are vertical. Other shapes are not unknown, especially among the Carrier, where historic time has seen importations from all directions. Thus the vertical side wall with gable roof is found there, and the possibly related plank house of the same shape. The Northwest Coast origin of these innovations is obvious.

The great bulk of the American Plateau, together with the Lakes, utilize an inverted-V section with both ends rounded to form half-circles. These ends are constructed by placing radiating poles from the end of the ridge to an arc on the ground. A second type found in this area, but with a more restricted distribution, is logically intermediate between the rectangular plan and that with rounded ends. One end is rounded, the other square. This variant has a narrow distribution in the south central Plateau (Yakima, Columbia?).

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

703 continued hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. 721 Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 305, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 93–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have institnted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance..... is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 233–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.

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The coat dress -- robes or blankets of bark-fibre or
291 small skins—is also used for some distance inland on the banks of the Columbia and Fraser, as among the Nicoutamuch, Kliketats, and Wascos; but the distinctive inland dress is of dressed skin of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep; made into a rude frock, or shirt, with loose sleeves; leggins reaching half-way up the thigh, and either bound to the leg or attached by strings to a belt about the waist; moccasins, and rarely a cap. Men's frocks descend half-way to the knees; women's nearly to the ankles. Over this dress, or to conceal the want of some part of it, a buffalo or elk robe is worn, espe-
[531] cially in winter. All garments are profusely and often tastefully decorated with leather fringes, feathers, shells, and porcupine quills; beads, trinkets and various bright-colored cloths having been added to Indian ornamenta-
296 tion since the whites came. A new suit of this native skin clothing is not without beauty, but by most tribes the suit is worn without change till nearly ready to drop off, and becomes disgustingly filthy. Some tribes clean and whiten their clothing occasionally with white earth,
[224] or pipe-clay. The buffalo and most of the other large skins are obtained from the country east of the mountains.[161]

[161] The Ootlashoot women wear 'a long shirt of skin, reaching down to
291 the ancles, and tied round the waist.' Few ornaments. The Nez Percés
301 wear 'the buffalo or elk-skin robe decorated with beads, sea-shells, chiefly mother-of-pearl, attached to an otter-skin collar and hung in the hair.' Leggins and moccasins are painted; a plait of twisted grass is worn round the neck. The women wear their long robe without a girdle, but to it 'are tied little pieces of brass and shells, and other small articles.' 'The dress of the female is indeed more modest, and more studiously so than any we have observed, though the other sex is careless of the indelicacy of exposure.' 'The Sokulk females have no other covering but a truss or piece of leather tied round the hips and then drawn tight between the legs.' Three fourths of the Pisquitpaws 'have scarcely any robes at all.' The Chilluckittequaws use skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild cats. 'Round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340–1, 351, 359, 361, 377, 526, 528, 532–3.
[292] Many of the Walla Walla, Nez Percé, and Cayuse females wore robes 'richly garnished with beads, higuas,' etc. The war chief wears as a head-dress the whole skin of a wolf's head, with the ears standing erect. The Okanagans wear in winter long detachable sleeves or mittens of wolf or fox skin, also wolf or bear skin caps when hunting. Men and women dress nearly alike,
[296] and are profuse in the use of ornaments. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127, 294–8; *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 306. The Flatheads often change their clothing and clean it with pipe-clay. They have no regular head-dress. From the Ya-

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

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The coat dress -- robes or blankets of bark-fibre or
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[224] or pipe-clay. The buffalo and most of the other large skins are obtained from the country east of the mountains.[161]

[161] The Ootlashoot women wear 'a long shirt of skin, reaching down to
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together for matting. Rude bowls and spoons are sometimes dug out of horn or wood, but the fingers, with pieces of bark and small mats are the ordinary table furniture. Skins are dressed by spreading, scraping off the flesh, and for some purposes the hair, with a sharp piece of bone, stone, or iron attached to a short handle, and used like an adze. The skin is then smeared with the animal's brains, and rubbed or pounded by a very tedious process till it becomes soft and white, some hides being previously smoked and bleached with white clay.[171]

On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

[171] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes .....font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

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the north the Kootenais seem to be superior to the other Shushwap nations. The Salish are assigned by Wilkes and Hale an intermediate place in physical attributes between the coast and mountain tribes, being in stature and proportion superior to the Chinooks, but inferior to the Nez Percés.[155] Inland, a higher order of face is observed than on the coast. The cheek-bones are still high, the forehead is rather low, the face long, the eyes black, rarely oblique, the nose prominent and frequently aquiline, the lips thin, the teeth white and regular but generally much worn. The general expression of the features is stern, often melancholy, but not as a rule harsh or repulsive. Dignified, fine-looking men, and handsome young women have been remarked in nearly all the tribes, but here again the Sahaptins bear off the palm. The complexion is not darker than on the coast, but has more of a coppery hue. The hair is black, generally coarse, and worn long. The beard is very thin, and its growth is carefully prevented by plucking.[156]

[155] In the interior the 'men are tall, the women are of common stature, and both are well formed.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. 'Of middle height, slender.' *Hale's Ethnog*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 199. The inland tribes of British Columbia, compared with those on the coast, 'are of a better cast, being generally of the middle height.' *Id.*, p. 198. See also p. 206. The Nez Percés and Cayuses 'are almost universally fine-looking, robust men.' In criticising the person of one of that tribe 'one was forcibly reminded of the Apollo Belvidere.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 148, 98. The Klikatat 'stature is low, with light, sinewy limbs.' *Id.*, p. 178; also pp. 158–174. The Walla-Wallas are generally powerful men, at least six feet high, and the Cayuse are still 'stouter and more athletic.' *Gairdner*, in *Lond. Geog. Soc. Jour.*, vol. xi., p. 256. The Umatillas 'may be a superior race to the "Snakes," but I doubt it.' *Barnhart*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1862, p. 271. The Salish are 'rather below the average size, but are well knit, muscular, and good-looking.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208. 'Well made and active.' *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 327. 'Below the middle hight, with thick-set limbs.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5. The Cootonais are above the medium height. Very few Shushwaps reach the height of five feet nine inches. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 376, vol. i., p. 240. See also on physique of the inland nations, *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340, 356, 359, 382, 527–8, 556–7; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 475; *Dunn*, in *Cal. Farmer, April* 26, 1861; *San Francisco Herald, June*, 1858; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 309, 414; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6, and vol. i., frontispiece, cut of a group of Spokanes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30, 198; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 54; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82.

[156] The interior tribes have 'long faces, and bold features, thin lips, wide cheek-bones, smooth skins, and the usual tawny complexion of the American tribes.' 'Features of a less exaggerated harshness' than the coast tribes.

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deforming the person, such as tattooing and perforating the features are as a rule not employed; the Yakimas and Kliketats, however, with some other lower Columbia tribes, pierce or cut away the septum of the nose,[158] and the Nez Percés probably derived their name from a similar custom formerly practiced by them. Paint, however, is used by all inland as well as coast tribes on occasions when decoration is desired, but applied in less profusion by the latter. The favorite color is vermilion, applied as a rule only to the face and hair.[159] Elaborate hair-dressing is not common, and both sexes usually wear the hair in the same style, soaked in grease, often painted, and hanging in a natural state, or in braids, plaits or queues, over the shoulders. Some of the southern tribes cut the hair across the forehead, while others farther north tie it up in knots on the back of the head.[160]

The coast dress—robes or blankets of bark-fibre or

head.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. See *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2, 249–51; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 175; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 263; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 415, with cut. Walla Wallas, Skyuse, and Nez Percés flatten the head and perforate the nose. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 374, 359; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 224.

[158] *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 38–9; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 362, 382–3.

[159] The Salish 'profuse in the use of paint.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 309. Nez Percés painted in colored stripes. *Hine's Voy.*, p. 173. 'Four Indians (Nez Percés) streaked all over with white mud.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 291. Walla Walla 'faces painted red.' The Okanagan 'young of both sexes always paint their faces with red and black bars.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294–8. The inland tribes 'appear to have less of the propensity to adorn themselves with painting, than the Indians east of the mountains, but not unfrequently vermilion mixed with red clay, is used not only upon their faces but upon their hair.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. Red clay for face paint, obtained at Vermilion Forks of the Similkameen River, in B. C. *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Pend d'Oreille women rub the face every morning with a mixture of red and brown powder, which is made to stick by a coating of fish-oil. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 198.

[160] The Oakinack 'women wear their hair neatly clubbed on each side of the head behind the ears, and ornamented with double rows of the snowy higua, which are among the Oakinackens called Shet-la-cane; but they keep it shed or divided in front. The men's hair is queued or rolled up into a knot behind the head, and ornamented like that of the women; but in front it falls or hangs down loosely before the face, covering the forehead and the eyes, which causes them every now and then to shake the head, or use the hands to uncover their eyes.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 294–5. The head of the Nez Percés not ornamented. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 321, 351, 377, 528, 532–3; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Kane's Wand*, p. 274.

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101 131 inhabit the triangle bounded by the Upper Columbia, the Rocky Mountains, and the 49th parallel, living chiefly on Flatbow river and lake. All three nations might probably be joined with quite as much reason to the Salish family farther south, as indeed has usually been done with the Okanagans; while the Kootenais are by some considered distinct from any of their adjoining nations.

THE SALISH FAMILY dwells south of the Shushwaps, between 49° and 47°, altogether on the Columbia and its tributaries. Its nations, more clearly defined than in most other families, are the *Flatheads*,[144] or Salish proper, between the Bitter Root and Rocky Mountains on Flathead and Clarke rivers; the *Pend d'Oreilles*,[145] who dwell about the lake of the same name and on Clarke River, for fifty to seventy-five miles above and below the lake; the *Coeurs d'Alêne*,[146] south of the Pend d'Oreilles, on Coeur d'Alêne Lake and the streams falling into it; the *Colvilles*,[147] a term which may be used to designate the variously named bands about Kettle Falls, and northward along the Columbia to the Arrow Lakes; the *Spokanes*,[148] on the Spokane River and plateau along the Columbia below Kettle Falls, nearly to the mouth of the

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[144] The origin of the name Flathead, as applied to this nation, is not known, as they have never been known to flatten the head. 'The mass of the nation consists of persons who have more or less of the blood of the Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, Nez Perces, and Iroquois.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 207; *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 150; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82. Gass applied the name apparently to tribes on the Clearwater of the Sahaptin family. *Jour.*, p. 224.

[145] Also called *Kalispelms* and *Ponderas*. The Upper Pend d'Oreilles consist of a number of wandering families of Spokanes, Kalispelms proper, and Flatheads. *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 294; *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 149; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 210. 'Very similar in manners, etc., to the Flatheads, and form one people with them.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 32.

[146] The native name, according to Hale, is *Skitswish*, and Coeur d'Alêne, 'Awl heart,' is a nickname applied from the circumstance that a chief used these words to express his idea of the Canadian traders' meanness. *Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 210.

[147] *Quiarlpi*, 'Basket People,' *Chaudieres*, 'Kettles,' *Kettle Falls*, *Chualpays*, *Skoielpoi*, and *Lakes*, are some of the names applied to these bands.

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[148] 'Ils s'appellent entre eux les Enfants du Soleil, dans leur langue Spokane.' *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 31. 'Differing very little from the Indians at Colville, either in their appearance, habits, or language.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 307.

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Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rilo-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 304 197 177

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wälä-Wälä, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Perces.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 265. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 361

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pshawanwappam lands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

304 The custom of head-flattening, apparently of seaboard origin and growth, extends, nevertheless, across the Cascade barrier, and is practiced to a greater or less extent by all the tribes of the Sahaptin family. Among them all, however, with the exception perhaps of the Klikatats, the deformity consists only of a very slight compression of the forehead, which nearly or quite disappears at maturity. The practice also extends inland up the valley of the Fraser, and is found at least in nearly all the more western tribes of the Shushwaps. The Salish family do not flatten the skull.[137] Other methods of

Hale's Ethnog., in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 198–9. 'Hair and eyes are black, their cheek bones high, and very frequently they have aquiline noses.' 'They wear their hair long, part it upon their forehead, and let it hang in tresses on each side, or down behind.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. Complexion 'a little fairer than other Indians.' *Id.* The Okanagans are 'better featured and handsomer in their persons, though darker, than the Chinooks or other Indians along the sea-coast.' 'Teeth white as ivory, well set and regular.' The voices of Walla Wallas, Nez Percés, and Cayuses, are strong and masculine. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 294, 127. The Flatheads (Nez Percés) are 'the whitest Indians I ever saw.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 189. The Shushwap 'complexion is darker, and of a more muddy, coppery hue than that of the true Red Indian.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 335. The Nez Perces darker than the Tushepaws. Dignified and pleasant features. Would have quite heavy beards if they shaved. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 356, 359, 527–8, 556–7, 321. The inland natives are an ugly race, with 'broad faces, low foreheads, and rough, coppery and tanned skins.' The Salish 'features are less regular, and their complexion darker' than the Sahaptins. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., pp. 55–6. Teeth of the river tribes worn down by sanded salmon. *Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 228; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 373. Nez Perces and Cayuses 'are almost universally fine looking, robust men, with strong aquiline features, and a much more cheerful cast of countenance than is usual amongst the race. Some of the women might almost be called beautiful, and none that I have seen are homely.' Some very handsome young girls among the Walla Wallas. The Klikatat features are 'regular, though often devoid of expression.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 148, 158, 178. Flatheads 'comparatively very fair in complexion, ...with oval faces, and a mild, and playful expression of countenance.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Kayuis had long dark hair, and regular features. *Coke's Rocky Mountains*, p. 304. Cut and description of a Clickitat skull, in *Morton's Crania*, p. 214, pl. 48. 'The Flatheads are the ugliest, and most of their women are far from being beauties.' *Stuart's Montana*, p. 82.

304 [137] 'The Sahaptin and Wallawallas compress the head, but not so much as the tribes near the coast. It merely serves with them to make the forehead more retreating, which, with the aquiline nose common to these natives, gives to them occasionally, a physiognomy similar to that represented in the hieroglyphical paintings of Central America.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 214, 205. All the Shushwaps flatten the head more or less. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 303. 'Il est à remarquer que les tribus établies au-dessus de la jonction de la branche sud de la Colombie, et désignées sous le nom de Têtes Plates, ont renoncé depuis longtemps à cet usage.' *Mofras, Explor.*, tom. ii., p. 349. 'A roundhead Klickatat woman would be a pariah.' *Winthrop's Canoe and Saddle*, p. 204. Nez Percés 'seldom known to flatten the

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

deforming the person, such as tattooing and perforating the features are as a rule not employed; the Yakimas and Kliketats, however, with some other lower Columbia tribes, pierce or cut away the septum of the nose,[158] and the Nez Percés probably derived their name from a similar custom formerly practiced by them. Paint, however, is used by all inland as well as coast tribes on occasions when decoration is desired, but applied in less profusion by the latter. The favorite color is vermilion, applied as a rule only to the face and hair.[159] Elaborate hair-dressing is not common, and both sexes usually wear the hair in the same style, soaked in grease, often painted, and hanging in a natural state, or in braids, plaits or queues, over the shoulders. Some of the southern tribes cut the hair across the forehead, while others farther north tie it up in knots on the back of the head.[160]

The coast dress—robes or blankets of bark-fibre or

head.' *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108. See *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 55–6, 64–5; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2, 249–51; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 175; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 263; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 415, with cut. Walla Wallas, Skyuse, and Nez Percés flatten the head and perforate the nose. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 374, 359; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 224.

[158] *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 38–9; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 362, 382–3.

[159] The Salish 'profuse in the use of paint.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, and in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 309. Nez Percés painted in colored stripes. *Hine's Voy.*, p. 173. 'Four Indians (Nez Percés) streaked all over with white mud.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 291. Walla Walla 'faces painted red.' The Okanagan 'young of both sexes always paint their faces with red and black bars.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 127, 294–8. The inland tribes 'appear to have less of the propensity to adorn themselves with painting, than the Indians east of the mountains, but not unfrequently vermilion mixed with red clay, is used not only upon their faces but upon their hair.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 229. Red clay for face paint, obtained at Vermilion Forks of the Similkameen River, in B. C. *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, vol. iii., p. 84. Pend d'Oreille women rub the face every morning with a mixture of red and brown powder, which is made to stick by a coating of fish-oil. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 198.

[160] The Oakinack 'women wear their hair neatly clubbed on each side of the head behind the ears, and ornamented with double rows of the snowy higua, which are among the Oakinackens called Shet-la-cane; but they keep it shed or divided in front. The men's hair is queued or rolled up into a knot behind the head, and ornamented like that of the women; but in front it falls or hangs down loosely before the face, covering the forehead and the eyes, which causes them every now and then to shake the head, or use the hands to uncover their eyes.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 294–5. The head of the Nez Percés not ornamented. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 321, 351, 377, 528, 533–3; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Kane's Wand*, p. 274.

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492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

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On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

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cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

[172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 208, 214, 223, 238.

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

MATERIAL CULTURE

HABITATIONS

342 Dwellings in the Plateau fall into three general classes: the earth lodge, the mat lodge, and the tipi. The earth lodge assumes a number of distinctive forms. These vary from a cave-like excavation, among the Carrier, to a flat topped pit, in parts of the southern Plateau. Thus the term semi-subterranean lodge, often used, is inapplicable as a generic designation. The circular pit covered with a conical roof is the commonest form encountered in the area, with its highest development in the north central region.

The mat covered lodge is widely distributed and exists side by side with the earth lodge. The name is not distinctive, but several of the forms which this type of dwelling assumes in the Plateau are definitely characteristic of the area. The commonest type presents an inverted-V lateral cross-section with a rectangular ground plan, or a plan with rounded ends. The mats are more often sewn than woven; the material is unusually cattail or tule.

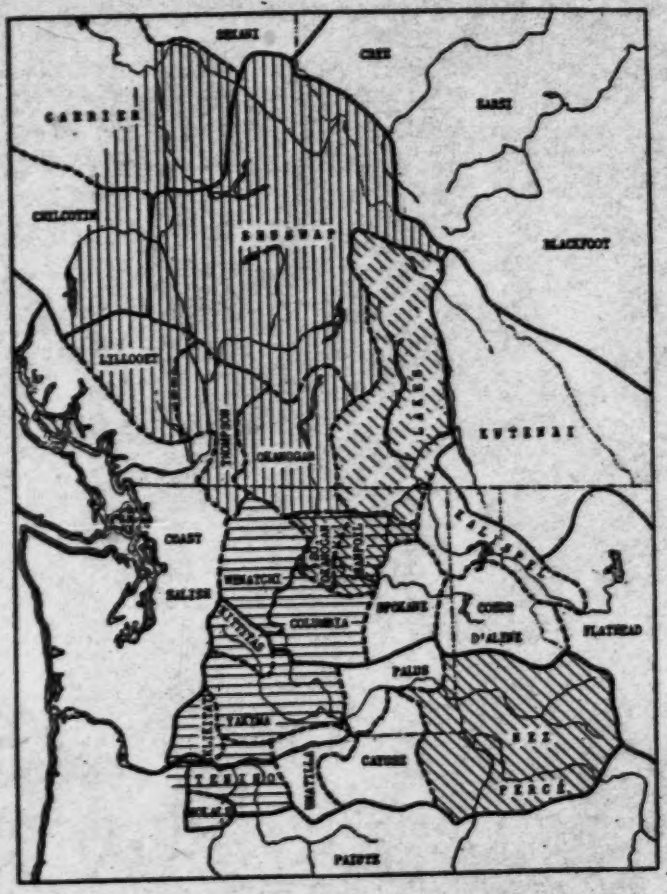
The tipi, an obviously intrusive form, is found only among the Kutenai and Flathead as a typical dwelling. Another intrusive form, the plank house, is frequently used by the Lower Lillooet and western Carrier and occurred in earlier times along the Columbia River as far east as the Nez Percé.

The Earth Lodge

The subterranean dwelling has a wide distribution in northwestern America, and again in northeastern Asia. Jochelson attacked the problem of relationship between these two areas,[1] and later Waterman gave the question further attention. Waterman concludes: "The fairest inference from the available evidence seems to be that the pit-lodges at least of extreme western North America represent the spreading of an idea from one common center."[2] Of Jochelson's assumption that earth lodges in America are generically related to those of Asia, Waterman states that the theory is now "somewhat more persuasive."[3] It should be added that Waterman posits a relationship between the subterranean dwelling and the plank houses of the Northwest Coast, since the latter

[1] Jochelson, *Subterranean Dwellings.*
[2] Waterman and Collaborators, *Native Houses*, p. 42.
[3] *Idem*, p. 15.

are sometimes built over pits. Olson presents convincing arguments to the contrary in his study of the plank houses of the Northwest Coast.[4] Data from the Plateau, to the degree applicable, support Olson in his contention. (One exception is noted below.)



MAP 18. Earth lodges. *Vertical hatching:* circular, with rafters; *horizontal hatching:* circular, roof of radiating poles; *diagonal hatching:* circular, flat roof; *broken hatching:* circular, radiating poles with purlins.

But the present problem is that of a narrower area. The variations of the earth lodge within the Plateau are considerable. The pit may be either circular or square, the roof conical, pyramidal, or flat, and the

[4] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, pp. 26–30.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

342 entrance at the center or edge. Further, the side entrance may be on the surface or in the form of a tunnel. These are not, however, randomly combined.

The exclusive type in the northwestern Plateau (Okanogan, Thompson, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin), excepting the Carrier, is the circular pit with pyramidal roof. The pyramidal form comes primarily from the use of hip rafters running from the edge of the pit to an opening at the top. The upper ends of these rafters usually rest upon vertical supporting posts. Thus the number of central posts is necessarily equal to the number of hip rafters. All use four logs to form a square hatchway. In addition, the Shuswap sometimes use six, forming a hexagonal opening which is in effect round. Likewise, the six planes of the roof present the effect of a cone when covered with earth. The four hip rafters of the Lillooet house, however, do not rest upon center posts at the upper ends. Instead, rafter struts are used, sloping diagonally inward from the middle of the rafter to the floor of the pit. The Lillooet house differs in yet another respect. The lower ends of the rafters are not set on the edge of the pit, but rather in the angle at the bottom edge of the excavation. The result is a squarish floor plan. The hatchway is sometimes a rectangle with the long side twice the dimension of the short one. This opening is divided in the middle with a log, forming two square hatchways. The exterior shape is modified, becoming more wedge-like. The Okanogan probably shared this type of house. In their case the rafters may have been set at the edge of the pit rather than at the bottom of it.[5] If this be true, it would provide a bit of evidence to bolster Waterman's argument.

The Carrier used an earth lodge identical with the four pole type of the Shuswap. Morice categorically states that it was borrowed from the Shuswap,[6] an interpretation with which members of both tribes agree. In addition they use a type of dwelling which may perhaps be called an earth lodge, but not a subterranean house. It is essentially an artificial cave hollowed from a hill side. The cavity is increased in size by building a frame of logs in front of the opening and covering this with the excavated earth. The walls of the extension slope from a rectangular roof to the ground. The doorway is at ground level, opposite the back of the excavation. This structure appears to be a local development, perhaps quite recent. There are no parallels among neighboring

[5] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 40 f. The informant's statements were equivocal.
[6] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, p. 191.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

peoples. It may be suggested that this is a combination of the log structure of the upper Fraser and the idea of the earth covered lodge. 342

The Lakes pit lodge differs considerably from those of the Shuswap and other neighbors. A roof of radiating poles is encountered here, a type of construction dominant to the south. The central posts are likewise absent. The roof is sufficiently steep so that the radiating poles maintain their positions after being anchored in the ground and tied to the hatchway frame. The foundation poles are spaced about four feet at the base. These are crossed by horizontal purlins or hoops, both inside and out. Then stub rafters are placed and covering material added.

In the western half of the American Plateau (Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Columbia, Kittitas, Yakima, Klikitat, Tenino, Wishram, Klamath[7]) the circular pit with a conical roof of radiating poles is universal. The central poles vary in number (Sanpoil: one; Tenino, Klamath: four) or may be absent entirely (Sanpoil), as in the Lakes house. The Klamath lodge is the most specialized. It is provided with an elongated hatchway supported by four vertical posts and four rafters. The result is a wedge shaped appearance. This method of constructing the framework is reminiscent of the northwestern Plateau; the wedge shape parallels that of the Lillooet. But an equally intimate similarity is found much nearer by, in northern and central California. Central posts, rafters, and the wedge shape are all present south of the Klamath. However, the particular combination effected by the Klamath is more closely approached in the north than anywhere in California, unless it be by the adjacent Modoc. The use of rafters is definitely absent from the Canadian line southward to the Klamath.

An essentially distinct type of earth lodge may be represented by the square pit of the Kittitas, Wenatchi, and Southern Okanogan. In all cases this lodge is supplementary to that built with a round pit. It may be nothing more than the tendency toward squareness, as in the Lillooet house, carried to the extreme. On the other hand, the four rafter foundation, which predisposes toward a square pit, is lacking in at least all recent forms. This, together with the restricted local distribution, suggests a development on the spot.

The opening at the side or edge is another new feature encountered in the square earth lodge; an entry at top center is never used. But the side entrance is not limited to the square lodge; it is utilized with the round pit by the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino, and

[7] Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 202 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

342 Nez Percé. Only among the Wenatchi and Kittitas is this the exclusive type; all others use the center hatchway for circular pit dwellings as well, despite Teit's declaration to the contrary.[8]

The side entrance is limited, among the Sanpoil and Nez Percé, to another lodge type, a pit with a flat roof. As built by the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, this lodge consists of a circular pit, flat roof, side entrance, and serves as a secondary type of dwelling. The Nez Percé, however, use this lodge only as a sudatory or for menstrual isolation. It is the only earth lodge known to the Nez Percé.[9]

The side entrance is unquestionably characteristic of the American Plateau as opposed to the exclusive use of the top central opening in the Canadian area. But the side entrance finds widespread utilization in California and again in Alaska, and the central hatchway is known from Siberia to the American Southwest. The local relationship of the two forms would be simplified if the side opening were associated only with the flat roof. It is better adapted to such a roof than is a central entry. But the Wenatchi and Kittitas, who lack the flat roof type, utilize the side opening exclusively for their conical roofed lodges. Hence we may be dealing with an architectural specialization locally developed.

Other local variations in the south central Plateau, particularly the flat roof and simple conical roof of radiating poles, appear as imperfect imitations of outside types or deteriorated examples of older types. The hip rafter foundation and the sloping roof are structurally far superior to the radiating pole foundation and the flat roof. Yet the superior types are found consistently in the north, and again in the extreme south. Suggestive of the possibly older type are the four central posts, maintained, for example, by the Tenino.

It may well be that these less satisfactory forms have become so only very recently. In British Columbia the earth lodge continued in use until late in the last century. On the American side, in contrast, it was going out of existence before the whites entered the scene. The consistent native comment is that the earth lodge was the "old type" of dwelling, at one time the exclusive winter habitat. Gradually, over a long period, it is explained, the earth lodge was supplanted by the mat covered dwelling, so the latter was in virtually exclusive use in the late nineteenth century. As the earth lodge became more and more obsolete, it seems reasonable that it would have been made with less

[8] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 227, 331.

[9] Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 198.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

and less care. The reason for this transition is problematical. It may have been associated with the coming of the horse and the greater mobility, even in wintertime, thus made possible. The winter mat lodge is designed as a stationary structure, but can be moved, and is characteristically re-erected each year. The earth lodge requires maintenance of residence in the same spot each winter if it is to be utilized.

Mat Lodges

The mat lodges of the Plateau fall naturally into groups based on ground plans and cross-sections. Other features are less definitive, both as to type and distribution. Framework, for example, varies in many respects, of which only a few are fundamental; most of these variations are local. The covering, on the other hand, is similar over the entire area. The mats are of rushes which are usually sewn, but sometimes twined or partly twined. Cattail or tule is used depending largely upon availability; tule is the more widespread. Grass mats are occasionally used by the Shuswap.

The ground plan has three essential variants: (1) rectangular; (2) parallel sides with rounded ends; (3) rectangular with one end rounded. Associated with any one of these plans may be either of the two cross-section types: inverted-V, and gabled with vertical walls. (The other logical variation, shed roof, is not found.) Specific combinations of plan and section present fairly exclusive distributions.

The Canadian area, excepting the Lakes, is characterized by the lodge of rectangular plan and inverted-V section, or wedge shape. The side walls slope from ridge to ground; the ends are vertical. Other shapes are not unknown, especially among the Carrier, where historic time has seen importations from all directions. Thus the vertical side wall with gable roof is found there, and the possibly related plank house of the same shape. The Northwest Coast origin of these innovations is obvious.

The great bulk of the American Plateau, together with the Lakes, utilize an inverted-V section with both ends rounded to form half-circles. These ends are constructed by placing radiating poles from the end of the ridge to an arc on the ground. A second type found in this area, but with a more restricted distribution, is logically intermediate between the rectangular plan and that with rounded ends. One end is rounded, the other square. This variant has a narrow distribution in the south central Plateau (Yakima, Columbia?).

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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A structure with plan and section identical to the last is found far north among the Carrier. This might be dismissed as an independent variation upon the rectangular plan, were it not for another feature which likewise duplicates southern practice. The rounded end is sepa-

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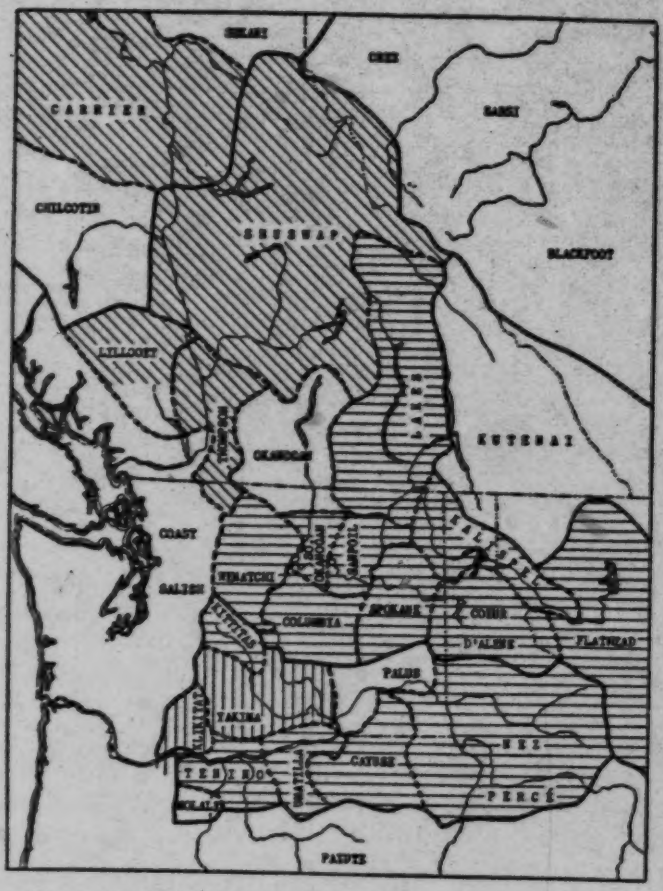

MAP. 19. Mat lodges. *Diagonal hatching:* inverted-V section, rectangular plan; *horizontal hatching:* inverted-V section, plan with parallel sides and rounded ends; *vertical hatching:* vertical walls, gable roof.

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rated from the main body of the house by a partition directly below the end of the ridge, making the room itself rectangular in plan. A door is provided in the middle of this wall and another in the rounded outside wall directly opposite. Two compartments are thus formed, one on

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

either side of the entrance aisle connecting the doors. These quarter-circle areas are used for storage, as dog kennels, and the like. The partition and double doors are very effective in keeping out the cold. In both areas the arrangements and explanations as to function are identical. In the south the end compartment is not limited to houses with one end rounded. The same arrangement is found in one or both ends of houses with double rounding. The Carrier lodge differs in certain other aspects of construction, as might be expected. Rafter struts are used and the covering is of bark, brush, poles, etc.[10] Whether these geographically remote examples are genetically related, remains to be answered. A general relation seems reasonable in view of the continuous distribution of the wedge shaped dwelling but the specific features of rounding and compartments demand further study.

Still another type appears with the Yakima, Klikitat, and Wishram.[11] This is the structure with vertical walls and gable roof. The plank house of the Coast was once common among the Wishram and even farther up the Columbia River. It can hardly be doubted that the present form of the mat house is derived from these earlier plank structures. But the Yakima houses, at least, have the further feature of rounded ends. This indicates a combination of two discrete types.

The Klamath mat lodge is a somewhat circular structure built essentially upon the plan of the earth lodge. Conical mat lodges are common throughout most of the Plateau, but the Klamath structure is something more than that. Of especial interest is the fact that a mat is sometimes hung inside the structure so that a sort of partition is formed between the main portion of the house and rounded end. Since the occupants are thus protected from the outside doorway, it functions like the central Plateau or Carrier partition.[12]

The rounded ends of the mat house of the southern Plateau may hold the secret to the history of these structures. Several interpretations are possible. This type may be the rectangular lodge with radiating poles added at the ends to form the compartments and protect the occupants. Or more fundamentally, a structural limitation may be involved. With a ridge pole in place, side poles may be leaned against it with ease, and may be made fast with but little tying. To construct vertical end walls is somewhat more difficult and involves a different principle.

[10] Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 189 ff.
[11] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*
[12] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 202.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

342 If, instead, the side wall pattern of sloping poles is maintained, the end becomes rounded automatically. Finally, the structure may be essentially the expanded tipi. If a tipi be divided vertically in halves and spread, a lodge with parallel sides and rounded ends is automatically obtained. The principal argument in favor of this interpretation is present day practice of the Flathead. To form their "long house" they erect two tipi frames at the proper distance, set a ridge pole from one to the other, add intermediate poles, and place the covering. Against this interpretation are several technical aspects of construction. The typical lodge of the Plateau is not, in fact, two tipis with connecting poles.

So much for the possibilities. The final answer must be based upon the examination of many more details of construction than those presented here, and the consideration of forms over a greater area than the Plateau alone.

BOATS AND CANOES

501 Canoes of the dugout type occur in all parts of the Plateau except among the Flathead. In the Flathead area only the bark canoe, in the west, and the bull boat, in the east, are known. In the northern part of the Plateau the dugout is of distinctly secondary importance, with the bark canoe in first place. The Shuswap and Chilcotin say that the dugout is recent, or at least that it was rare before the coming of metal tools. But all are acquainted with methods of hollowing by burning, except the Kutenai. Hence it seems unlikely that metal tools effected a wholly novel innovation, but rather that they merely increased the use of dugouts. The bark canoes continued to hold first place; the appearance is not that of the introduction of a whole new complex. Teit has asserted that dugout canoes were unknown to the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Kalispel, and Sanpoil.[13] This is explicitly and consistently denied today by informants from all these groups. They have no difficulty in providing information as to ancient techniques; the descriptions are technically plausible and fit into the regional pattern. As far as the Sanpoil are concerned, Teit's information is unquestionably in error. They not only had dugouts but used them extensively. Furthermore, the types built were quite specialized; one was a shovel-nose type with flat, projecting prow and stern; the other was provided with a sharp bow and stern.[14]

Olson has classified the canoes of the Northwest into three types of a general nature.

[13] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 108, 248, 350. [14] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 118 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusshepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shuahwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 279–80; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Opn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Cole's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The dwellings are

342 arranged in small villages generally located in winter on
361 the banks of small streams a little away from the main rivers. For a short distance up the Columbia, houses similar to those of the Chinooks are built of split cedar and bark. The Walla Wallas, living in summer in the ordinary mat lodge, often construct for winter a subterranean abode by digging a circular hole ten or twelve feet deep, roofing it with poles or split cedar covered with grass and mud, leaving a small opening at the top for exit and entrance by means of a notched-log ladder. The Atnahs on Fraser River spend the winter in similar structures, a simple slant roof of mats or bark sufficing for shade and shelter in summer. The Okanagans construct their lodges over an excavation in the ground several feet deep, and like many other nations, cover their matting in winter with grass and earth.[122]

[122] The Sokulk houses 'generally of a square or oblong form, varying in length from fifteen to sixty feet, and supported in the inside by poles or forks about six feet high.' The roof is nearly flat. The Echeloot and Chilluckittequaw houses were of the Chinook style, partially sunk in the ground. The Nez Percés live in houses built 'of straw and mats, in the form of the roof of a house.' One of these 'was one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and about fifteen wide, closed at the ends, and having a number of doors on each side.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 351, 369-70, 381-2, 540. Nez Percé dwellings twenty to seventy feet long and from ten to fifteen feet wide; free from vermin. Flathead houses conical but spacious, made of buffalo and moose skins over long poles. Spokane lodges oblong or conical, covered with skins or mats. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148, 192, 200. Nez Percé and Cayuse lodges 'composed of ten long poles, the lower ends of which are pointed and driven into the ground; the upper blunt and drawn together at the top by thongs' covered with skins. 'Universally used by the mountain Indians while travelling.' Umatillas live in 'shantys or wigwams of driftwood, covered with buffalo or deer skins.' Klicatats 'in miserable loose hovels.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 104-5, 156, 174. Okanagan winter lodges are long and narrow, 'chiefly of mats and poles, covered over with grass and earth;' dug one or two feet below the surface; look like the roof of a common house set on the ground. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 313-4. On the Yakima River 'a small canopy, hardly sufficient to shelter a sheep, was found to contain four generations of human beings.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 34, 37. On the Clearwater 'there are not more than four lodges in a place or village, and these small camps or villages are eight or ten miles apart.' 'Summer lodges are made of willows and flags, and their winter lodges of split pine.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 212, 221, 223. At Kettle Falls, the lodges are of rush mats.' 'A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309, 272-3. The Pend d'Oreilles roll their tent-mats into cylindrical bundles for convenience in traveling. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 215, 238, 282. *Barnhart*, in *Id.*, 1862, p. 271. The Shushwap den is warm but 'necessarily unwholesome, and redolent....of anything but roses.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Yakimas, 'rude

[251]

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf 825 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but sometimes 783 for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Repl.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusshepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 228–30; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Opn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Cole's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

5; Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food, 262

and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167] 177 241

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns, 515 356

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May: fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinaspoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id., Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 97, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Oge. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 203–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog., Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206. 221 262

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 280, 312; *Townsend's Nar.*, p, 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[20] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[21]

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This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[20] Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[21] The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.
[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.
[24] *Ibid.*, 309.
[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.
[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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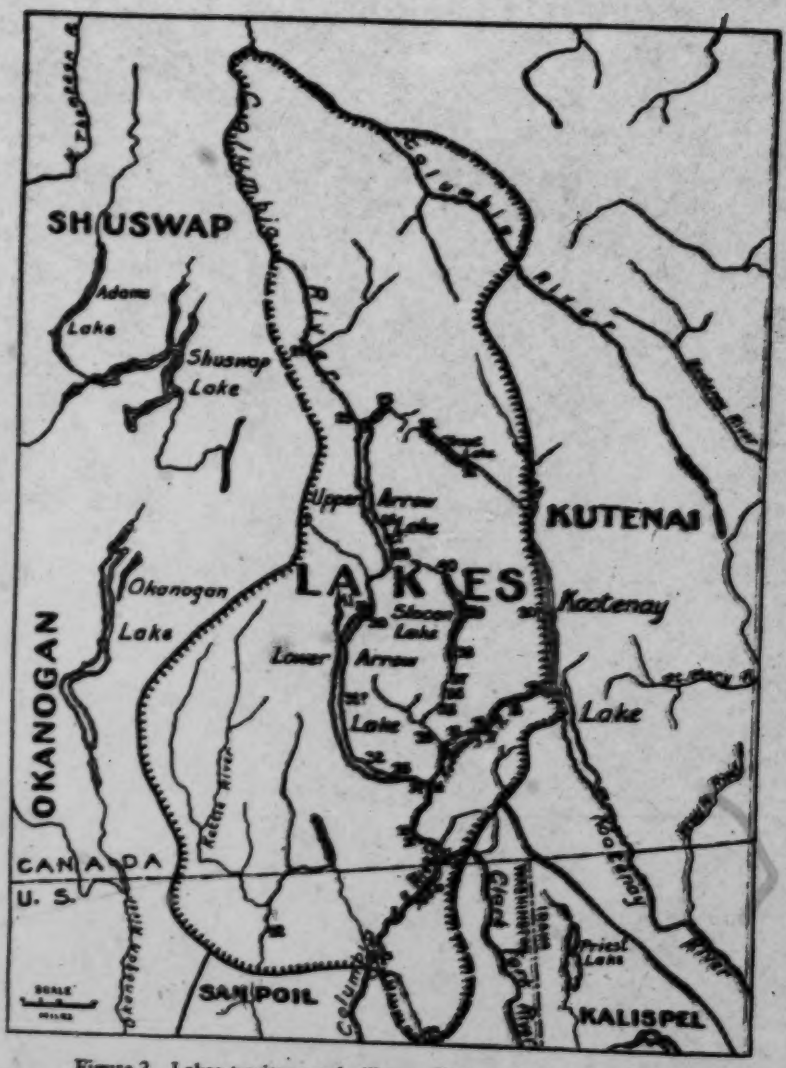

Figure 2. Lakes territory and villages. See text for village names.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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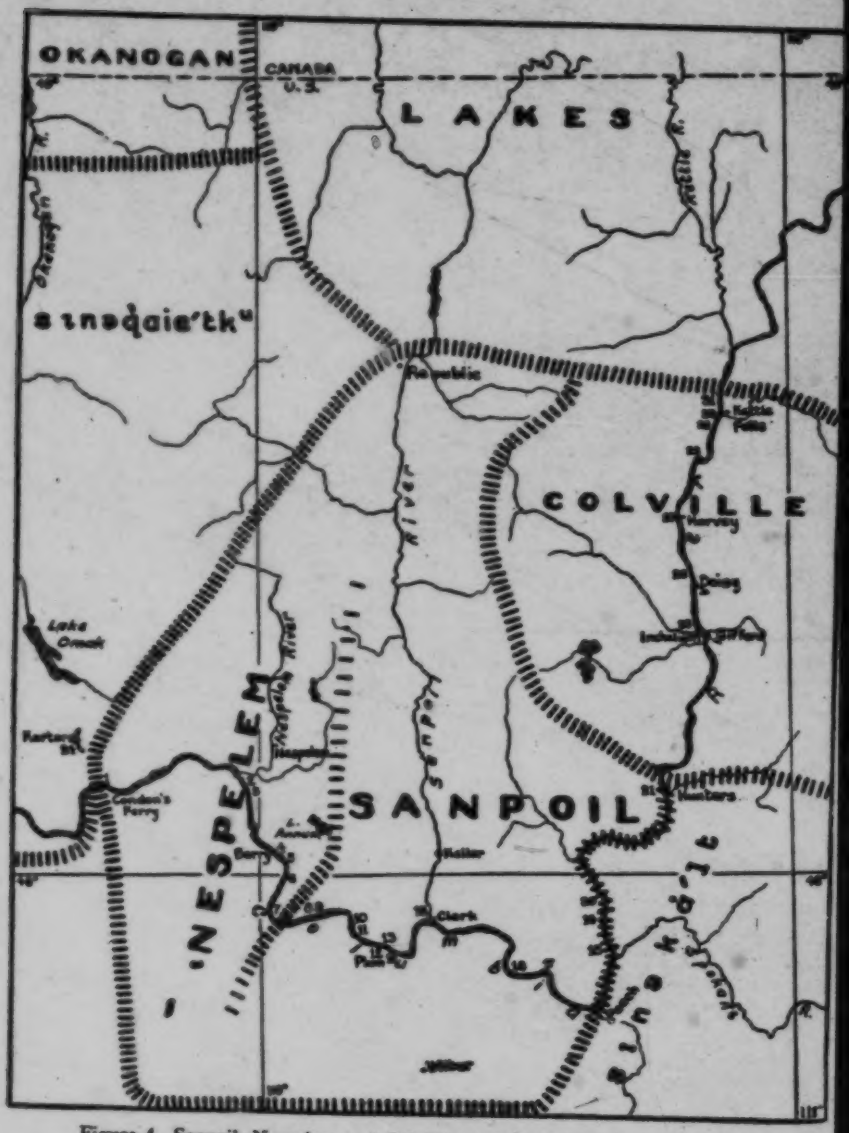

Figure 4. Sanpoil, Nespelem and Colville territories and villages. Figures refer to village names in text.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayusé and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[53]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[54]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[55] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[53] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[54] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[55] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* 173 361 and John Day Rivers. They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and

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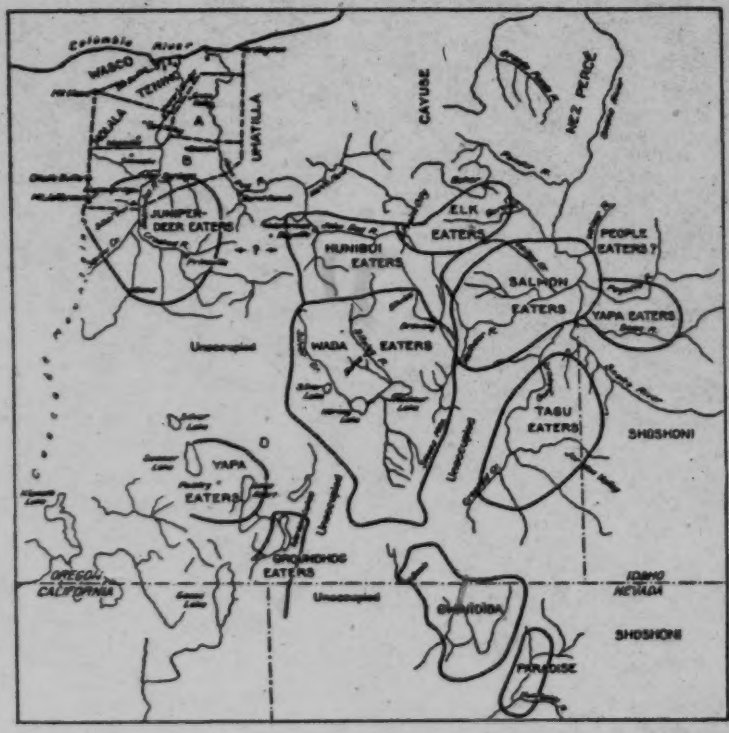

FIG. 2. Territory of the Tenino, Molala, and Oregon Paiute. Tenino-Molala territory (broken lines) by Murdock. A, disputed territory of Paiute, used by John Day Tenino for hunting; B, originally Paiute territory, from which the Paiute were displaced by Tenino. (Numbers near the Columbia indicate native sites mentioned in the text.) Northern Paiute territory (solid lines) by Blyth.

131* 173 361 shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions, originally independent though always friendly, were:

1. The Tenino proper, who during the summer occupied the village of

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

tinai'nu (1)[56] about four miles east of The Dalles on the left bank of the Columbia, and who wintered six miles inland at taqa'xtaqax (2).

2. The Wayam or Deschutes, who summered at waya'm (3: modern Celilo) and wintered at wanwa'wi (4) on the left bank of the Deschutes not far from its junction with the Columbia.

3. The John Day, whose summer and winter villages (takcpa'c [6] and maxa'xpa [5]) were both located on the lower John Day River within a few miles of the Columbia, and whose territory adjoined that of the Umatilla near Arlington.

4. The Tygh, an early nineteenth century offshoot from the Tenino proper, who expelled the Molala from their former territory and occupied their villages: taix, their winter village at modern Tygh Valley, and tlxni', their summer fishing site at modern Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. The "Tygh" and "Tilquni" of Mooney[57] are thus not two sub-tribes but merely two names for the same sub-tribe derived from its two villages.

The John Day, who alone of the four sub-tribes seem to have had a permanent foothold on the Washington bank of the Columbia, habitually went to Mt Adams for berries, whereas the other three groups frequented Mt Hood during the berry season. All four, however, ranged south from the Columbia for game and roots. Complete freedom of trade and intercourse prevailed between the Tenino and the Wasco, Wishram, Umatilla, and Sahaptin tribes of Washington. With the Paiute alone, whom they raided for slaves, were they on terms of chronic hostility. After the treaty of June 25th, 1855, the Tenino removed to the Warmsprings Reservation, where they have been settled ever since in the vicinity of Simnasho. Since their establishment on the reservation they have called themselves malila' (cf. Mooney's "Melilema"), which is merely a Sahaptin adaptation of "warm springs."

THE MOLALA

According to Tenino sources, the Molala, whom they call tai'tilpam or mo'lalis, were a small tribe, possibly one-third as numerous as the Tenino, who spoke a language which neither the Tenino nor the Wasco could understand. In culture they differed markedly from the Paiute and resembled the Tenino, although they did not keep slaves. They had only one winter village, on the site of modern Tygh Valley, and moved every spring to a summer fishing village at Sherar's Bridge on the Deschutes. They dug roots in the vicinity of modern Wapinitia and gathered berries on the eastern

[56] Numbers in parentheses refer to similarly numbered sites indicated on the accompanying map, Figure 2.

[57] Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, pp. 741–42.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars between the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, catai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A circumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from informant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

Okanagan; and the *Pisquouse*,[149] on the west bank of the Columbia between the Okanagan and Priest Rapids. 101 131

THE SAHAPTIN FAMILY, the last of the Columbian group, is immediately south of the Salish, between the Cascade and Bitter Root mountains, reaching southward, in general terms, to the forty-fifth parallel, but very irregularly bounded by the Shoshone tribes of the Californian group. Of its nations, the *Nez Percés*,[150] or Sahaptins proper, dwell on the Clearwater and its branches, and on the Snake about the forks; the *Palouse*[151] occupy the region north of the Snake about the mouth of the Palouse; the south banks of the Columbia and Snake near their confluence, and the banks of the lower Walla Walla are occupied by the *Walla Wallas*;[152] the *Yakimas* and *Klikatats*[153] inhabit the region north of the Dalles,

[149] 'So much intermarried with the Yakamas that they have almost lost their nationality.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 236.

[150] 'Pierced Noses,' so named by the Canadians, perhaps from the nasal ornaments of the first of the tribe seen, although the custom of piercing the nose has never been known to be prevalent with this people. 'Generally known and distinguished by the name of "black robes," in contradistinction to those who live on fish.' Named Nez Perces from the custom of boring the nose to receive a white shell, like the fluke of an anchor. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 305, 185–6. 'There are two tribes of the Pierced-Nose Indians, the upper and the lower.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. 'Though originally the same people, their dialect varies very perceptibly from that of the Tushepaws.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 341. Called *Thoiga-rik-kah*, *Tsoi-yah*, 'Cowse-eaters,' by the Snakes. 'Ten times better off to-day than they were then'—'a practical refutation of the time-honored lie, that intercourse with whites is an injury to Indians.' *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 76–7. 'In character and appearance, they resemble more the Indians of the Missouri than their neighbors, the Salish.' *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 212; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 54. 304 197 177

[151] 'La tribu Paloose appartient à la nation des Nez-percés et leur ressemble sous tous les rapports.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 31.

[152] The name comes from that of the river. It should be pronounced Wăl̆ă-Wăl̆ă, very short. *Pandosy's Gram.*, p. 9. 'Descended from slaves formerly owned and liberated by the Nez Percés.' *Parker's Explor. Tour.* p. 247. 'Not unlike the Pierced-Noses in general appearance, language, and habits.' *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5. Parts of three different nations at the confluence of the Snake and Columbia. *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 218–19. 'None of the Indians have any permanent habitations' on the south bank of the Columbia about and above the Dalles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 365. 'Generally camping in winter on the north side of the river.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 223. 361

[153] The name Yakima is a word meaning 'Black Bear' in the Walla Walla dialect. They are called Klikatats west of the mountains. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. 'The Klikatats and Yakimas, in all essential peculiarities of character, are identical, and their intercourse is constant.' *Id.*, p. 403, and *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 225. 'Pshawanwappam bands, usually called Yakamas.' The name signifies 'Stony Ground.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac.*

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101 131 between the Cascade Range and the Columbia, the former in the valley of the Yakima, the latter in the mountains about Mt. Adams. Both nations extend in some bands across into the territory of the Sound family. The natives of Oregon east of the Cascade Range, who have not usually been included in the Sahaptin family, I will divide somewhat arbitrarily into the *Wascos*, extending from the mountains eastward to John Day River, and the *Cayuse*,[154] from this river across the Blue Mountains to the Grande Ronde.

141 The inland Columbians are of medium stature, usually from five feet seven to five feet ten inches, but sometimes reaching a height of six feet; spare in flesh, but muscular and symmetrical; with well-formed limbs, the legs not being deformed as among the Chinooks by constant sitting in the canoe; feet and hands are in many 147 tribes small and well made. In bodily strength they are inferior to whites, but superior, as might be expected from their habits, to the more indolent fish-eaters on the Pacific. The women, though never corpulent, are more inclined to rotundity than the men. The Nez Percés and Cayuses are considered the best specimens, while in

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dosy's Gram., p. vii. 'Roil-roil-pam, is the Klikatat country.' 'Its meaning is "the Mouse country."' *Id.* The Yakima valley is a great national rendezvous for these and surrounding nations. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 19, 21. Kliketats, meaning robbers, was first the name given to the Whulwhypums, and then extended to all speaking the same language. For twenty-five years before 1854 they overran the Willamette Valley, but at that time were forced by government to retire to their own country. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 244–7.

[154] Wasco is said to mean 'basin,' and the tribe derives its name, traditionally, from the fact that formerly one of their chiefs, his wife having died, spent much of his time in making cavities or basins in the soft rock for his children to fill with water and pebbles, and thereby amuse themselves. *Victor's All over Ogn.*, pp. 94–5. The word Cayuse is perhaps the French *Cailloux*, 'pebbles.' Called by Tolmie, 'Wyeilats or Kyoose.' He says their language has an affinity to that of the Carriers and Umpquas. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 249–50. 'Resemble the Walla-Wallas very much.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 279–80. 'The imperial tribe of Oregon' claiming jurisdiction over the whole Columbia region. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81. The Snakes, Walla-Wallas, and Cayuse meet annually in the Grande Ronde Valley. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270. 'Individuals of the pure blood are few, the majority being intermixed with the Nez Perces and the Wallah-Wallahs.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 218–19. The region which I give to the Wascos and Cayuses is divided on Hale's map between the Walla-Wallas, Waiilatpu, and Molele.

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The dwellings are
342 arranged in small villages generally located in winter on
361 the banks of small streams a little away from the main rivers. For a short distance up the Columbia, houses similar to those of the Chinooks are built of split cedar and bark. The Walla Wallas, living in summer in the ordinary mat lodge, often construct for winter a subterranean abode by digging a circular hole ten or twelve feet deep, roofing it with poles or split cedar covered with grass and mud, leaving a small opening at the top for exit and entrance by means of a notched-log ladder. The Atnahs on Fraser River spend the winter in similar structures, a simple slant roof of mats or bark sufficing for shade and shelter in summer. The Okanagans construct their lodges over an excavation in the ground several feet deep, and like many other nations, cover their matting in winter with grass and earth.[162]

[162] The Sokulk houses 'generally of a square or oblong form, varying in length from fifteen to sixty feet, and supported in the inside by poles or forks about six feet high.' The roof is nearly flat. The Echeloot and Chilluckittequaw houses were of the Chinook style, partially sunk in the ground. The Nez Percés live in houses built 'of straw and mats, in the form of the roof of a house.' One of these 'was one hundred and fifty-six feet long, and about fifteen wide, closed at the ends, and having a number of doors on each side.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 340, 351, 369–70, 381–2, 540. Nez Percé dwellings twenty to seventy feet long and from ten to fifteen feet wide; free from vermin. Flathead houses conical but spacious, made of buffalo and moose skins over long poles. Spokane lodges oblong or conical, covered with skins or mats. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148, 192, 200. Nez Percé and Cayuse lodges 'composed of ten long poles, the lower ends of which are pointed and driven into the ground; the upper blunt and drawn together at the top by thongs' covered with skins. 'Universally used by the mountain Indians while travelling.' Umatillas live in 'shantys or wigwams of driftwood, covered with buffalo or deer skins.' Klicatats 'in miserable loose hovels.' *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 104–5, 156, 174. Okanagan winter lodges are long and narrow, 'chiefly of mats and poles, covered over with grass and earth;' dug one or two feet below the surface; look like the roof of a common house set on the ground. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 313–4. On the Yakima River 'a small canopy, hardly sufficient to shelter a sheep, was found to contain four generations of human beings.' *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., pp. 34, 37. On the Clearwater 'there are not more than four lodges in a place or village, and these small camps or villages are eight or ten miles apart.' 'Summer lodges are made of willows and flags, and their winter lodges of split pine.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 212, 221, 223. At Kettle Falls, the lodges are of rush mats.' 'A flooring is made of sticks, raised three or four feet from the ground, leaving the space beneath it entirely open, and forming a cool, airy, and shady place, in which to hang their salmon.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309, 212–3. The Pend d'Oreilles roll their tent-mats into cylindrical bundles for convenience in traveling. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 215, 238, 282. *Barnhart*, in *Id.*, 1862, p. 271. The Shushwap den is warm but 'necessarily unwholesome, and redolent....of anything but roses.' *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 77. Yakimas, 'rude

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The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., Hist. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Hind*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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177 411 knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

177 721 The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of 231 721 equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

411 [169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt*. *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 318–19; *H., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–8. 'Ils . . . faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, ou de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 435; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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together for matting. Rude bowls and spoons are sometimes dug out of horn or wood, but the fingers, with pieces of bark and small mats are the ordinary table furniture. Skins are dressed by spreading, scraping off the flesh, and for some purposes the hair, with a sharp piece of bone, stone, or iron attached to a short handle, and used like an adze. The skin is then smeared with the animal's brains, and rubbed or pounded by a very tedious process till it becomes soft and white, some hides being previously smoked and bleached with white clay.[171]

On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

[171] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 105, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes .....font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches. Others, those belonging to the richer people, had conical tents made of skins or mats put over them. Poles were also erected at many graves, and on these were suspended many of the articles belonging to the dead person. The poles always had the bark peeled off, and were painted. . . . On many graves, particularly in the country near Lytton, the canoe of the deceased was placed bottom side up. On some graves were wooden figures almost life size, carved as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman. The Indians say that a long time ago grave figures were not used by the Upper Thompsons, and that this custom was borrowed from the lower division,[114]

which in turn, it may be added, received it from the people of the lower Fraser River. The Shuswap use shelters similar to those described, but do not place canoes or carved posts on graves. The Upper Lillooet build a framework of four poles from which are suspended the belongings of the deceased.

In general very little attention is given to lining the grave, although poles or bark may sometimes be used for the purpose. Of the Flathead, however, Turney-High writes,

> They say the oldest method was to prepare a floor of flat stone slabs when these could be had. A wall of such stones was then built up higher than the depth of the corpse. A houselike structure was then prepared to protect his head and feet. Saplings were laid over this stone structure and a parfleche stretched over them before the grave was filled in.[115]

Alternative, simpler methods are also described.

The grave is prepared for flexed or extended burial according to usage. In the north central Plateau (Lillooet, Shuswap, Upper Thompson, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alêne) the body is invariably flexed but in all other parts of the area the extended position is found.

Although cremation is the universal practice of the Carrier, and perhaps the Sekani, Morice interprets it as a recent importation from the Coast. The original custom of the Athabascans, he asserts,

> seems to have been to enclose the bodies within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from three to seven feet above the ground on stout poles or posts, much after the manner of the scaffoldings whereon they cache their provisions and other household impedimenta. . . .

[114] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 329.
[115] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 142.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oqn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 249. [36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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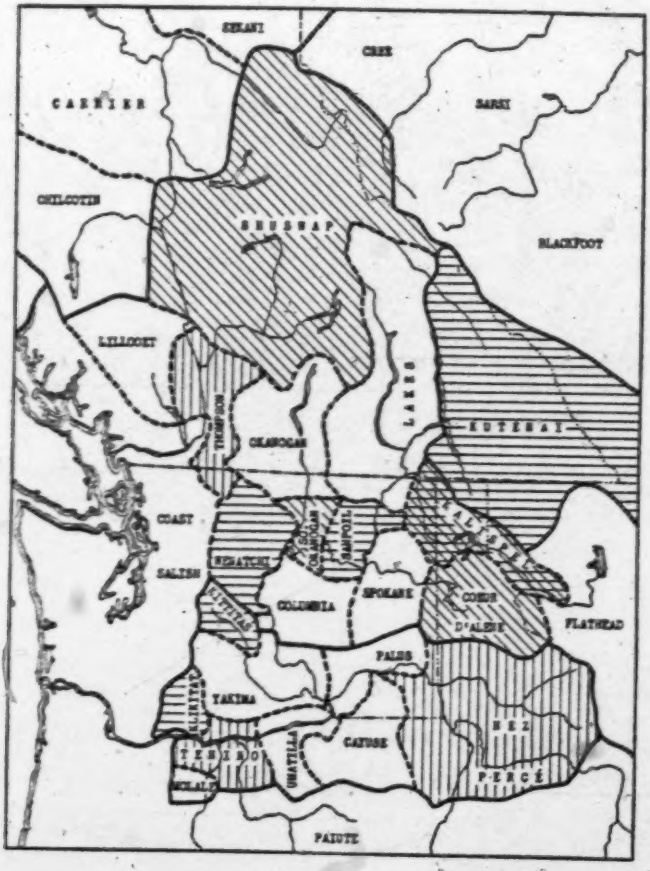

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

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central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it.* The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 153.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[87]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[88]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[87] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[88] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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431 535 776 796 the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

431 796 We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

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stratum of gift-giving. But I do not think anyone wants to do this; it certainly would be confusing. The word would, in consequence, be applicable to cultures in any part of the world. Certainly Olson is not arguing for such a meaning when he contrasts the potlatch of the Quinault with that of the Kwakiutl:

> In the potlatches of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes the features of bitter rivalry, high rates of interest, destruction of goods, fictitious values, and the "fighting with wealth" stand out as pathological social patterns. . . . I mention these points for the reason that the potlatch of the Kwakiutl has long been regarded as typifying the whole potlatch system of the area. Actually it is an extreme type, an example of the lengths to which an institution may be carried. A potlatch like that of the Quinault is far more likely to turn out to be the proto-type. Its pattern remains fairly simple; no deeplaid plots, no egotistical mania surround its inception and execution.[80]

But it does involve formal invitations in order of social position, large accumulations of wealth, primary interest in quantity and distribution, a wealth tallyman, rehearsals, and wealth songs. But more important than all this, perhaps, is the fact that the gifts represented the *wealth of the host* and marked his social position; in distinct contrast to the Plateau where the gifts were *provided by the guests* as well as the host, and the amount furnished by the latter was no reflection of rank.

In a recent study Barnett has attempted to present sufficient evidence in its proper perspective to contribute to a better understanding of the potlatch:

> Above all, the present summary points to a more refined and definitive concept, and consequently to a more circumspect use of the term. It signifies not simply an exchange of gifts, for that custom is too widespread and diversely associated to be the criterion of the potlatch. Neither is the latter fundamentally competitive. It is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status.[81]

We have been carried far afield from the discussion of the Spirit Dance as such, but may profitably remain afield for the moment. Lower Chinook ceremonies throw light upon the history of yet another aspect of spirit ceremonialism and of the potlatch: the secret society of the Coast.

[80] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[81] Barnett, *Nature of the Potlatch*, p. 357.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

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Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

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Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Oyn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chilluckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.

802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-

805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine

487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Klikatats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Colze's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 293; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

LAKES VILLAGES

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1. npəpkolá't'skin ("place where many pəpkolıt's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

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After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kɔxkɑ'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolá't'skɑn (1).

3. nt'sɑlt'sɑli'tk[a] ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[43]

4. åtstləktst'cɑn ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sɑntkɑlxuwe'ltən ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tɬtitko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[43]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

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was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'ɔmqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. ɑplpu'pstɑn· ("where pu'pstɑn [a grass] grows").

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nsɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɑ·nu'yulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwɑmɔ'a'tcx*, "river where the steelhead trout run").

20. nxwɑmɑ'ne ("steelhead trout place")

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

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The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusahepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 229–30; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Opn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Opn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland families eat fish and game, with roots and fruit; no nation subsists without all these supplies; but the proportion of each consumed varies greatly according to locality. Some tribes divide their forces regularly into bands, of men to fish and hunt, of women to cure fish and flesh, and to gather roots and berries. I have spoken of the coast tribes as a fish-eating, and the interior tribes as a hunting people, attributing in great degree their differences of person and character to their food, or rather to their methods of obtaining it; yet fish constitutes an important element of inland subsistence as well. Few tribes live altogether without salmon, the great staple of the Northwest; since those dwelling on streams inaccessible to the salmon by reason of intervening falls, obtain their supply by annual migrations to the fishing-grounds, or by trade with other nations. The principal salmon fisheries of the Columbia are at the Dalles, the falls ten miles above, and at Kettle Falls. Other productive stations are on the Powder, Snake, Yakima, Okanagan, and Clarke rivers. On the Fraser, which has no falls in its lower course, fishing is carried on all along the banks of the river instead of at regular stations, as on the Columbia. Nets, weirs, hooks, spears, and all the implements and methods by which fish are taken and cured have been sufficiently described in treating of the coast region;[1] in the interior I find no important variations except in the basket method in use at the Chaudières or Kettle Falls by the Quiarlpi tribe. Here an immense willow basket, often ten feet in diameter and twelve feet deep, is suspended at the falls from

huts covered with mats.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 407. Shushwaps erect rude slants of bark or matting; have no tents or houses. *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. From the swamps south of Flatbow Lake, 'the Kootanie Indians obtain the klusquis or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges,' and is traded with other tribes. *Sullivan*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 15. In winter the Salish cover their mats with earth. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. Flag huts of the Walla Wallas. *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 85; *Mullan's Rept*, pp. 49–50; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 61; *Coxe's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 319; *Id., Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 185; *Id., West. Missions*, p. 284; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 105–6. *Haul*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 79.

[1] [See pp. 232-233, category 116-- Analyst]

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FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION. 265

as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among 222
the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these 221
roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.[165]

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all 251
the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well 462
as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked 251
by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

[165] The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; 222
n'poolthla, ground into flour; *mamum* and *seekywa*, made into bitter white 484
cakes; *kamass; calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat kamash and an edible moss. *Id.*, *Missions de l'Orégon*, pp. 75–6. 'The Cayooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Perces. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash*, *cowish* or biscuit root, *jackap*, *aisish*, *quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp, 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect camash, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214–15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 327. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *konah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahseego*, camas, or 'water seego,' is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (alectoria?). Kamas also eaten. *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *popkah*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spatlam*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *itwha*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marani*, a grain. *D[illegible]'s Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

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The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

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The larger varieties of game are hunted by the natives on horseback wherever the nature of the country will permit. Buffalo are now never found west of the Rocky Mountains, and there are but few localities where large game has ever been abundant, at least since the country became known to white men. Consequently the Flatheads, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, the distinctively hunting nations, as well as bands from nearly every other tribe, cross the mountains once or twice each year, penetrating to the buffalo-plains between the Yellowstone and the Missouri, in the territory of hostile nations. The bow and arrow was the weapon with which buffalo and all other game were shot. No peculiar cunning seems to have been necessary to the native hunter of buffalo; he had only to ride into the immense herds on his well-trained horse, and select the fattest animals for his arrows. Various devices are mentioned as being practiced in the chase of deer, elk, and mountain sheep; such as driving them by a circle of fire on the prairie towards the concealed hunters, or approaching within arrow-shot

'then pulling out two or three hairs from his horse's tail for a line, tied the bit of leather to one end of it, in place of a hook or fly.' *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 132–3. At the mouth of Flatbow River 'a dike of round stones, which runs up obliquely against the main stream, on the west side, for more than one hundred yards in length, resembling the foundation of a wall.' Similar range on the east side, supposed to be for taking fish at low water. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 165–6. West of the Rocky Mountains they fish 'with great success by means of a kind of large basket suspended from a long cord.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 240–1. On Powder River they use the hook as a gaff. *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 283. A Wasco spears three or four salmon of twenty to thirty pounds each in ten minutes. *Remy and Brenchley's Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 506. No salmon are taken above the upper falls of the Columbia. *Thornton's Ogn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 392. Walla Walla fish-weirs 'formed of two curtains of small willow switches matted together with withes of the same plant, and extending across the river in two parallel lines, six feet asunder. These are supported by several parcels of poles,....and are either rolled up or let down at pleasure for a few feet....A seine of fifteen or eighteen feet in length is then dragged down the river by two persons, and the bottom drawn up against the curtain of willows.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 532. Make fishing-nets of flax. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, p. 90. 'The Inland, as well as the Coast, tribes, live to a great extent upon salmon.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 242; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, pp. 152–3. Palouse 'live solely by fishing.' *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Salmon cannot ascend to Coeur d'Alêne Lake. *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 209–10. Okanagan food 'consists principally of salmon and a small fish which they call carp.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 462. The Walla Wallas 'may well be termed the fishermen of the Skyuse camp.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82.

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224 23 484 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[164]

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

224 484 [721] [221]

[164] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assinniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 297–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 21, 35–3; *Joset*, in *Id.*, tom. cxxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

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as a part of their regular winter supplies. Chief among the roots are the camass, a sweet, onion-like bulb, which grows in moist prairies, the couse, which flourishes in more sterile and rocky spots, and the bitter-root, which names a valley and mountain range. To obtain these roots the natives make regular migrations, as for game or fish. The varieties of roots and berries used for food are very numerous; and none seem to grow in the country which to the native taste are unpalatable or injurious, though many are both to the European.[165]

Towards obtaining food the men hunt and fish; all the other work of digging roots, picking berries, as well as dressing, preserving, and cooking all kinds of food is done by the women, with some exceptions among the Nez Percés and Pend d'Oreilles. Buffalo-meat is jerked by cutting in thin pieces and drying in the sun and over smouldering fires on scaffolds of poles. Fish is sun-dried on scaffolds, and by some tribes on the lower Columbia

[165] The Kliketats gather and eat *peahay*, a bitter root boiled into a jelly; *n'poolthla*, ground into flour; *mamum* and *seekywa*, made into bitter white cakes; *kamass; calz*, a kind of wild sunflower. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 247. The Flatheads go every spring to Camass Prairie. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 183. The Kootenais eat kamash and an edible moss. *Id., Missions de l'Oregon*, pp. 75–6. 'The Cayooses, Nez Percés, and other warlike tribes assemble (in Yakima Valley) every spring to lay in a stock of the favourite kamass and pelua, or sweet potatoes.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i. p. 19. Quamash, round, onion-shaped, and sweet, eaten by the Nez Perces. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 330. Couse root dug in April or May; camas in June and July. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 656. The Skyuses' 'main subsistence is however upon roots.' The Nez Percés eat *kamash, cowish* or biscuit root, *jackap, aisish, quako*, etc. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301, 388. Okanagans live extensively on moss made into bread. The Nez Percés also eat moss. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp, 462, 494. Pend d'Oreilles at the last extremity live on pine-tree moss; also collect camash, bitter-roots, and sugar pears. *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211, 214–15. 'I never saw any berry in the course of my travels which the Indians scruple to eat, nor have I seen any ill effect from their doing so.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 327. The Kootenai food in September 'appears to be almost entirely berries; namely, the "sasketoom" of the Crees, a delicious fruit, and a small species of cherry, also a sweet root which they obtain to the southward.' *Blakiston*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 73. Flatheads dig *komah*, 'bitter root' in May. It is very nutritious and very bitter. *Pahseepo*, camas, or 'water seego,' is a sweet, gummy, bulbous root. *Stuart's Montana*, pp. 57–8. Colvilles cut down pines for their moss (alectoria?). Kamas also eaten. *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 34. The Shushwaps eat moss and lichens, chiefly the black lichen, or *whyelkine*. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301, *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 127. The Salish in March and April eat *pupkah*, an onion-like bulb; in May, *spatlam*, a root like vermicelli; in June and July, *itcha*, like roasted chestnuts; in August, wild fruits; in September, *marani*, a grain. *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 312.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[18]

[18] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

177 This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.
487 All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however,
177 are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough,
619 the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

166 It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band"
621 without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

177 The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a dif-
621 ferent order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[34] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[35] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[36] Senijextee, etc.[37] Native name, sna'itck stk[338] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[34]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[35]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[36]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[37]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

[38]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqâlıspi'ləm (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate-'use,"[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped tha. of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smaka'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'tni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *l; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

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531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.

802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-

805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine

487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Advcn.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Kliketats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Colin's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Moyne's B. C.*, p. 299; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[175] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[175] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkaní, *soi* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchákat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

703 continued hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. 721 Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 305, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 93–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have instituted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance..... is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 233–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.

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together for matting. Rude bowls and spoons are sometimes dug out of horn or wood, but the fingers, with pieces of bark and small mats are the ordinary table furniture. Skins are dressed by spreading, scraping off the flesh, and for some purposes the hair, with a sharp piece of bone, stone, or iron attached to a short handle, and used like an adze. The skin is then smeared with the animal's brains, and rubbed or pounded by a very tedious process till it becomes soft and white, some hides being previously smoked and bleached with white clay.[171]

On the lower Columbia the Wascos, Kliketats, Walla Wallas, and other tribes use dug-out boats like those of the coast, except that little skill or labor is expended on their construction or ornamentation; the only requisite being supporting capacity, as is natural in a country where canoes play but a small part in the work of procuring food. Farther in the interior the mountain tribes of the Sahaptin family, as the Cayuses and Nez Percés, make no boats, but use rude rafts or purchase an occasional canoe from their neighbors, for the rare cases when it becomes necessary to transport property across an unfordable stream. The Flatheads sew up their lodge-skins into a temporary boat for the same purpose. On the Fraser the Nootka dug-out is in use. But on the northern lakes and rivers of the interior, the Pend d'Oreille, Flatbow, Arrow, and Okanagan, northward to the Ta-

[171] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 108, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes ..... font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

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horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchere's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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342 If, instead, the side wall pattern of sloping poles is maintained, the end becomes rounded automatically. Finally, the structure may be essentially the expanded tipi. If a tipi be divided vertically in halves and spread, a lodge with parallel sides and rounded ends is automatically obtained. The principal argument in favor of this interpretation is present day practice of the Flathead. To form their "long house" they erect two tipi frames at the proper distance, set a ridge pole from one to the other, add intermediate poles, and place the covering. Against this interpretation are several technical aspects of construction. The typical lodge of the Plateau is not, in fact, two tipis with connecting poles.

So much for the possibilities. The final answer must be based upon the examination of many more details of construction than those presented here, and the consideration of forms over a greater area than the Plateau alone.

BOATS AND CANOES

501 Canoes of the dugout type occur in all parts of the Plateau except among the Flathead. In the Flathead area only the bark canoe, in the west, and the bull boat, in the east, are known. In the northern part of the Plateau the dugout is of distinctly secondary importance, with the bark canoe in first place. The Shuswap and Chilcotin say that the dugout is recent, or at least that it was rare before the coming of metal tools. But all are acquainted with methods of hollowing by burning, except the Kutenai. Hence it seems unlikely that metal tools effected a wholly novel innovation, but rather that they merely increased the use of dugouts. The bark canoes continued to hold first place; the appearance is not that of the introduction of a whole new complex. Teit has asserted that dugout canoes were unknown to the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Kalispel, and Sanpoil.[13] This is explicitly and consistently denied today by informants from all these groups. They have no difficulty in providing information as to ancient techniques; the descriptions are technically plausible and fit into the regional pattern. As far as the Sanpoil are concerned, Teit's information is unquestionably in error. They not only had dugouts but used them extensively. Furthermore, the types built were quite specialized; one was a shovel-nose type with flat, projecting prow and stern; the other was provided with a sharp bow and stern.[14]

Olson has classified the canoes of the Northwest into three types of a general nature.

[13] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 108, 248, 350. [14] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 118 f.

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The "shovel-nose" pattern is characterized by rounded prow and stern, sloping upward to a squared end, with a straight gunwale line from prow to stern, and the absence of separate bow and stern pieces. The Nutka or "Chinook" type is pointed at both ends, the bow projects upward and forward and, except on small canoes, is a separate piece. The stern is vertical and raised above the level of the gunwales, the upper portion in all larger canoes being a separate piece. The cross-section is angular, the bottom being almost flat. The Northern canoe is characterized by raised and projecting bow and stern formed of separate pieces, by the vertical cut-water, and by the rounded cross-section.[15]

Of these only the first two appear in the Plateau. The shovel-nose is quite general in distribution, but the Nutka canoe is known only on the Fraser River among the Salish. Olson states that it is probably shared by the Carrier and Chilcotin but this is denied by informants of these groups. Even the Shuswap deny it today, although they are aware of its use lower on the river. Perhaps I interpret Olson's criteria more strictly than he intended, for he cites Morice as his source for attributing the Nutka canoe to the Carrier.[16] The canoe described and figured by Morice is a type quite widely used throughout the Plateau, but hardly conforms to the description for the Nutka form. The stern is not vertical, the cross-section is not angular, and the bow and stern are not provided with separate, raised pieces.[17]

This type may be described as rounded in cross-section, keel line straight amidships but curving gradually upward at bow and stern; the cutwater and stern are somewhat sharpened; the gunwale line is slightly higher at bow and stern than amidships. I have called this the sharp nosed canoe in describing the Sanpoil variant. The type is utilized by the Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Lillooet, Chicotin, Carrier, and perhaps others. The Tenino and Chilcotin substitute a rounded stern but keep the sharp bow.

Both shovel-nose and sharp nosed canoes are made of the same materials. The selection depends largely upon available wood, cedar usually being preferred and pine being last choice. The peoples of the American Plateau are forced to use pine in most cases although they obtain some cedar as driftwood. Cottonwood is frequently employed in the far north and by the Kutenai.

[15] Olson, *Adze, Canoe and House Types*, p. 19; cf. Waterman and Coffin, *Types of Canoes*.
[16] Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[17] See Morice, *Notes on the Western Dénés*, pp. 114 f.

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Bark canoes are utilized in all parts of the Canadian Plateau, and by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and western Flathead. Two highly distinctive types are found, with a third intermediate

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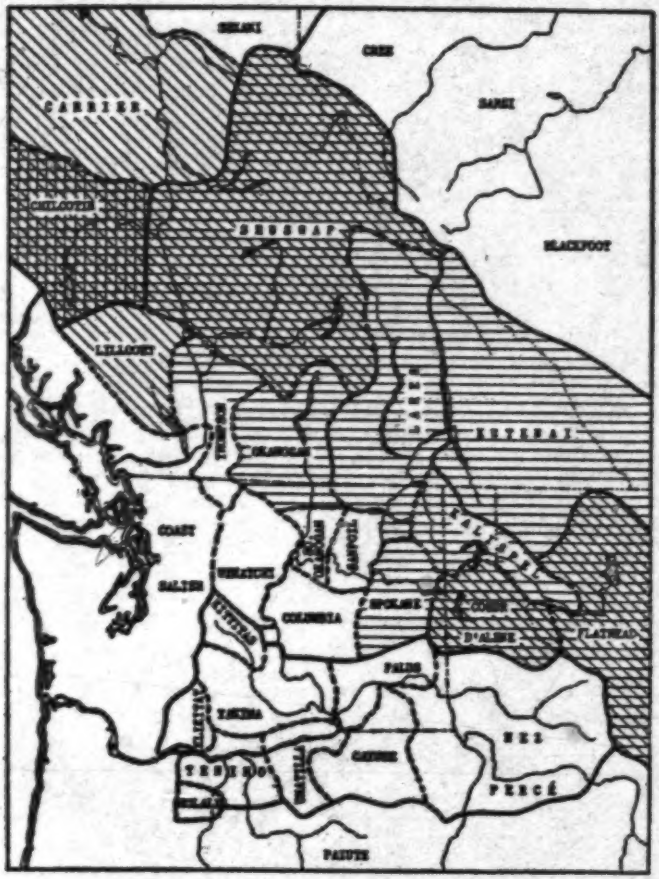

MAP 20. Bark canoes. *Diagonal hatching:* undercut bow and stern; *horizontal hatching:* sturgeon-nose type; *vertical hatching:* vertical bow and stern.

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form. One is the sturgeon-nose type; another has undercut bow and stern; in the third form the bow and stern are vertical.

The sturgeon-nose canoe is pointed under the water line at both bow and stern. The existence of this type among the Kutenai was pointed out years ago by Mason, at which time he called attention to

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the parallel with the canoes of the Amur in eastern Asia.[18] In addition to the Kutenai, these are used by the Kalispel, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokane, Colville, Lakes, Okanogan, Upper Thompson, Shuswap, and Chilcotin.[19] They are most extensively employed in the immediate vicinity of the Lakes and Kutenai. This distribution is probably exhaustive; it extends continuously in a broad area from the Chilcotin adjacent to the Coast to the Flathead bordering on the Plains.

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At the two ends of this area appears the second type, with bow and stern curving upward. On the west it is common to the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Lillooet, and finds a slight utilization among the Shuswap. On the east it is shared only by the western Flathead and the Coeur d'Alêne. The third type, characterized by vertical prow and stern, is unique to the Chilcotin. Its occurrence at this point is extremely provocative both because of the extreme western location and the fact that the Chilcotin also possess the other two forms. The three forms in association suggest the possibility of a transition from one form to the other having been made here. If so, the transition must have been from the sturgeon-nose to the undercut type, with diffusion of the latter to the adjacent peoples followed by its extensive utilization and the gradual discarding of the earlier type. This would assume the absence of the bark canoe in the Carrier and Lillooet areas, and the presence of the sturgeon-nose variety among the Shuswap and Chilcotin. The undercut type is the only one known to the Carrier and Lillooet. The other fact requiring this order, granting the transition, is that the area of intensive use of the sturgeon-nose is far to the east. Such a history would conform with Teit's theory that the sturgeon-nose is the older type in the region.[20]

However, it seems far more likely that the vertical ends are merely a compromise in the presence of the two other forms; the result of an attempt, conscious or otherwise, to combine the two types. As such it would have no large historical significance, at least so long as the form remains local. It is true such a combination has not occurred in the other areas in which the two primary forms overlap. But it must be emphasized that the vertical bow is functionally very unsatisfactory, and would hardly persist, even though discovered among a people with

[18] Mason, *Pointed Bark Canoes.*

[19] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 531; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 255; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, *loc. cit.*; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

[20] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.

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501 finely made canoes of extensive utilization. The Chilcotin, on the other hand, are poor canoe makers at best. They waiver from one type to another, including the dugout. The bark canoe with vertical ends is more easily and quickly made than the other types. And, perhaps, not being deeply immersed in a particular tradition, they feel free to experiment with all.

Teit suggests that the undercut bark canoe of the Flathead is very late in time, being an innovation by Iroquois who settled among the Flathead as employes of the fur traders.[21] This interpretation is supported by the very narrow local distribution of the type. More extensive inquiry might make a definitive answer possible, but the larger problem can only be settled when sufficient data are available for an exhaustive comparison of the structural details of eastern and western examples.

The Kutenai and Flathead share the Plains bull boat, and the Klikitat use hides over a frame of uncertain form. The Kutenai and Flathead bull boats are makeshift affairs used for transporting goods or children. No frame is used. Parfleches (rawhide envelopes) are laced together around the paraphernalia to be transported. If necessary, brush is added for additional buoyancy. The Flathead boat is usually pulled by a horse, but among the Kutenai a swimmer tows the burden.

"Rafts of tule" are mentioned by Teit for the Spokane and their neighbors to the east.[22] The Kalispel sometimes bind tule mats on the outside of a bark canoe to increase the buoyancy. Rafts of logs are found everywhere except among the Klamath, Wishram, Klikitat, Nez Percé, and Kutenai.

[21] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 350.
[22] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 248, 350.

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[171] White marl clay used to cleanse skin robes, by making it into a paste, rubbing it on the hide and leaving it to dry, after which it is rubbed off. Saddles usually sit uneasily on the horse's back. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 105, 232–4. 'Mallet of stone curiously carved' among the Sokulks. Near the Cascades was seen a ladder resembling those used by the whites. The Pishquitpaws used 'a saddle or pad of dressed skin, stuffed with goats' hair.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 353, 370, 375, 528. On the Fraser a rough kind of isinglass was at one time prepared and traded to the Hudson Bay Company. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., p. 177. 'The Sahaptins still make a kind of vase of lava, somewhat in the shape of a crucible, but very wide; they use it as a mortar for pounding the grain, of which they make cakes.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 64, 243. (Undoubtedly an error.) Pend d'Oreilles; 'les femmes .....font des nattes de joncs, des paniers, et des chapeaux sans bords.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 199. 'Nearly all (the Shushwaps) use the Spanish wooden saddle, which they make with much skill.' *Mayne's B. C.*, pp. 301–2. 'The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antlers of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies.' *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–70; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 129; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317, 365; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

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cully territory, the natives manufacture and navigate bark canoes. Both birch and pine are employed, by stretching it over a cedar hoop-work frame, sewing the ends with fine roots, and gumming the seams and knots. The form is very peculiar; the stem and stern are pointed, but the points are on a level with the bottom of the boat, and the slope or curve is upward towards the centre. Travelers describe them as carrying a heavy load, but easily capsized unless when very skillfully managed.[172]

Horses constitute the native wealth, and poor indeed is the family which has not for each member, young and old, an animal to ride, as well as others sufficient to transport all the household goods, and to trade for the few foreign articles needed. The Nez Percés, Cayuses and Walla Wallas have more and better stock than other nations, individuals often possessing bands of from one thousand to three thousand. The Kootenais are the most northern equestrian tribes mentioned. How the natives originally obtained horses is unknown, although there are some slight traditions in support of the natural supposition that they were first introduced from the south by way of the Shoshones. The latter are one people with the Comanches, by whom horses were obtained during the Spanish expeditions to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. The horses of the natives are

[172] 'The white-pine bark is a very good substitute for birch, but has the disadvantage of being more brittle in cold weather.' *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 296. Yakima boats are 'simply logs hollowed out and sloped up at the ends, without form or finish.' *Gibbs*, in *Id.*, p. 408. The Flatheads 'have no canoes, but in ferrying streams use their lodge skins, which are drawn up into an oval form by cords, and stretched on a few twigs. These they tow with horses, riding sometimes three abreast.' *Stevens*, in *Id.*, p. 415. In the Kootenai canoe 'the upper part is covered, except a space in the middle.' The length is twenty-two feet, the bottom being a dead level from end to end. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 169–70. 'The length of the bottom of the one I measured was twelve feet, the width between the gunwales only seven and one half feet.' 'When an Indian paddles it, he sits at the extreme end, and thus sinks the conical point, which serves to steady the canoe like a fish's tail.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 178–9, 255–7. On the Arrow Lakes 'their form is also peculiar and very beautiful. These canoes run the rapids with more safety than those of any other shape.' *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328. See *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 35, 187; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 319; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 375; *Hector*, in *Palliser's Explor.*, p. 27; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 209, 214, 223, 238.

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Life with all these nations is but a struggle for food,
and the poorer tribes are often reduced nearly to starvation; yet they never are known to kill dogs or horses for food. About the missions and on the reservations cattle have been introduced and the soil is cultivated by the natives to considerable extent.[167] 262 177 241

In their personal habits, as well as the care of their lodges, the Cayuses, Nez Percés, and Kootenais, are mentioned as neat and cleanly; the rest, though filthy, are still somewhat superior to the dwellers on the coast. The Flatheads wash themselves daily, but their dishes and utensils never. De Smet represents the Pend d'Oreille women as untidy even for savages.[168] Guns, 515 356

[167] Additional notes and references on procuring food. The Okanagans break up winter quarters in February; wander about in small bands till June. Assemble on the river and divide into two parties of men and two of women for fishing and dressing fish, hunting and digging roots, until October; hunt in small parties in the mountains or the interior for four or six weeks; and then go into winter quarters on the small rivers. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 314–16. Further south on the Columbia plains the natives collect and dry roots until May; fish on the north bank of the river till September, burying the fish; dig camas on the plains till snow falls; and retire to the foot of the mountains to hunt deer and elk through the winter. The Nez Percés catch salmon and dig roots in summer; hunt deer on snow-shoes in winter; and cross the mountains for buffalo in spring. Sokulks live on fish, roots, and antelope. Eneeshur, Echeloots, and Chilluckittequaw, on fish, berries, roots and nuts. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 444–5, 340–1, 352, 365, 370. Spokanes live on deer, wild fowl, salmon, trout, carp, pine-moss, roots and wild fruit. They have no repugnance to horse-flesh, but never kill horses for food. The Sinapoils live on salmon, camas, and an occasional small deer. The Chaudiere country well stocked with game, fish and fruit. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 201, vol. ii., p. 145. The Kayuse live on fish, game, and camass bread. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 30–1. 'Ils cultivent avec succès le blé, les patates, les pois et plusieurs autres légumes et fruits.' *Id.*, *Miss. de l'Orégon.*, p. 67. Pend d'Oreilles; fish, Kamash, and pine-tree moss. *Id.*, *West. Missions*, p. 284. 'Whole time was occupied in providing for their bellies, which were rarely full.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211. Yakimas and Kliketats; Unis or fresh-water muscles, little game, sage-fowl and grouse, kamas, berries, salmon. The Okanagans raise some potatoes. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 406, 408, 413. Kootenais; fish and wild fowl, berries and pounded meat, have cows and oxen. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 72. Palouse; fish, birds, and small animals. Umatillas; fish, sage-cocks, prairie-hares. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 95, 105–6. Tushepaws would not permit horses or dogs to be eaten. *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Nez Percés; beaver, elk, deer, white bear, and mountain sheep, also steamed roots. *Id.*, *Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. Sahaptin; gather cherries and berries on Clarke River. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 193; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 151; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 167; *Brownell's Ind. Races*, pp. 533–5; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 63–71; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 108; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 203–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 228–31, 309; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 474; *Hale's Ethnog.*, *Ib.*, vol. vi., p. 206. 221 262

[168] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 383, 548; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 239, 322; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 148; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46–7, 198; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197–9, 358, vol. ii., pp. 155, 373, 375; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 295; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 58, 59.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf 825 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Klikatats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

124 PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY

LAKES VILLAGES

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1. npəpkolȧ't'skin ("place where many pəpkolıt's [a species of bull head, *Ameiurus* sp.?] are found").

This was the lowermost Lakes village on the Columbia river, located about two miles below the present town of Marcus. It was a relatively small settlement, usually numbering about seven to ten camps. Though more populous in winter than in summer it was well occupied until late in the spring. It was the site of the shinny grounds where games between the Colvilles and the Lakes were played, and was a popular meeting place for Colvilles, Lakes, and Kalispels. It served as a base for camas gathering in the nearby Selkirk mountains.

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After the establishment of the Hudson Bay post about three-quarters of a mile upriver this village increased in size and became the center of considerable trading.

2. kıxkı'us ("open place in a cottonwood grove").

This village was located about one mile below Marcus where the Dobson ferry formerly crossed. The site was below the high water line of the Columbia river and had to be evacuated before the rise of the water in the spring.

It was the largest winter village of the Lakes with an average population of about 200. As a trading center during the days of the Hudson Bay post it was even more popular than npəpkolȧ't'skın (1).

3. nt'sılt'sıli'tkᵊ ("trees in the water").

This settlement was at the present site of Marcus. (E)[43]

4. ȧtstləktst'cın ("large grove of cottonwood [?] trees near the river").

This village was located directly across the river from Marcus on the first bench above the river. Occupation here extended from December to February, with a population of about 150. Four or five families usually remained throughout the summer.

5. sıntkılxuwe'ltən ("at the foot of the hill").

This was a hunting camp on the north side of the Columbia river directly opposite the present town of Bossburg. It was occupied as a base for deer hunting during February. From here a trail led into the hills to the north.

6. tltitko's ("basin in the river bench").

This camp, located between Bossburg and Northport was occupied during March as a base for root digging.

[43]Information followed by (E) was furnished by Mr. William Elmendorf, graduate student in Anthropology at the University of Washington.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The Colvilles have a game, alkollock, played with spears. A wooden ring some three inches in diameter is rolled over a level space between two slight stick barriers about forty feet apart; when the ring strikes the barrier the spear is hurled so that the ring will fall over its head; and the number scored by the throw depends on which of six colored beads, attached to the hoop's inner circumference, falls over the spear's head.[185] The almost universal Columbian game of guessing which hand contains a small polished bit of bone or wood is also a favorite here, and indeed the only game of the kind mentioned; it is played, to the accompaniment of songs and drumming, by parties sitting in a circle on mats, the shuffler's hands being often wrapped in fur, the better to deceive the players.[186] All are excessively fond of dancing and singing; but their songs and dances, practiced on all possible occasions, have not been, if indeed they can be, described. They seem merely a succession of sounds and motions without any fixed system. Pounding on rude drums of hide accompanies the songs, which are sung without words, and in which some listeners have detected a certain savage melody. Scalp-dances are performed by women hideously painted, who execute their diabolical antics in the centre of a circle formed by the rest of the tribe who furnish music to the dancers.[187]

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[185] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 310–11.

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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was situated. The typical terminal moraine mounds, so apt to be misinterpreted when near an Indian village, are still to be seen.

14. tc'ɜnqe'n.

This settlement was located on the Chamokane river where Ford, Washington, is now found.

15. ɑplpu'pstɜn· ("where pu'pstɜn [a grass] grows").

This settlement of three or four families was on the north side of the Spokane river about two miles east of the mouth of Chamokane creek, or perhaps seven miles below Tumtum. It was occupied during the winter only.

16. tcu'mɑts'i (refers to the creek entering the river at this point).

This was the uppermost Middle Spokane village on the Spokane river. It was situated just above Tumtum on the north side of the river. It was an important fall hunting base and also a fall salmon spearing site. Occupation of the village continued from early autumn until spring.

UPPER SPOKANE VILLAGES

17. nɑp'ta'us.

This was a small fall and winter camp, noted principally as a fall salmon spearing station. It was located on the south side of the Spokane river about three miles below the mouth of the Little Spokane river.

18. tcɜ·nu'ɣulc.

This was another small fall and winter camp with lodges on both sides of the Spokane river about one mile below the mouth of the Little Spokane. It served as a base for hunting fowl and deer.

19. n·tcmɑtsi'n.

This important village occupied the north bank of the Spokane river at the mouth of the Little Spokane river (nxwɜmɜ'a'tkx^{u}, "river where the steelhead trout run").

20. nxwɜmɜ'ne ("steelhead trout place")

This village was not only the largest of the Upper Spokane but of the whole river. It spread over considerable territory on the south side of the Spokane river with a center about a half mile above the mouth of the Little Spokane. It was a prominent meeting place and trading and gambling center. Also it served as a salmon spearing grounds, salmon trap site, line fishing site for trout, and deer hunting and berry gathering base. In recent times about 300 tipis were pitched here during the winter. In addition, a number of single family camps were located nearby.

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525 527 The annual summer gathering on the river banks for fishing and trade, and, among the mountain nations, the return from a successful raid in the enemy's country, are the favorite periods for native diversions.[182] To gambling they are no less passionately addicted in the interior than on the coast,[183] but even in this universal Indian vice, their preference for horse-racing, the noblest form of gaming, raises them above their stick-shuffling brethren of the Pacific. On the speed of his horse the native stakes all he owns, and is discouraged only when his animal is lost, and with it the opportunity to make up past losses in another race. Foot-racing and target-shooting, in which men, women and children participate, also afford them indulgence in their gambling propensities and at the same time develop their bodies by exercise, and perfect their skill in the use of their native weapon.[184] The Colvilles have a game, *alkollock*, played

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strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, between June and September, varying a month or more according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

[163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rep.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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The coat dress -- robes or blankets of bark-fibre or
291 small skins—is also used for some distance inland on the banks of the Columbia and Fraser, as among the Nicoutamuch, Kliketats, and Wascos; but the distinctive inland dress is of dressed skin of deer, antelope, or mountain sheep; made into a rude frock, or shirt, with loose sleeves; leggins reaching half-way up the thigh, and either bound to the leg or attached by strings to a belt about the waist; moccasins, and rarely a cap. Men's frocks descend half-way to the knees; women's nearly to the ankles. Over this dress, or to conceal the want of some part of it, a buffalo or elk robe is worn, espe-
[531] cially in winter. All garments are profusely and often tastefully decorated with leather fringes, feathers, shells, and porcupine quills; beads, trinkets and various bright-colored cloths having been added to Indian ornamenta-
296 tion since the whites came. A new suit of this native skin clothing is not without beauty, but by most tribes the suit is worn without change till nearly ready to drop off, and becomes disgustingly filthy. Some tribes clean and whiten their clothing occasionally with white earth,
[224] or pipe-clay. The buffalo and most of the other large skins are obtained from the country east of the mountains.[161]

291 301 [161] The Ootlashoot women wear 'a long shirt of skin, reaching down to the ancles, and tied round the waist.' Few ornaments. The Nez Percés wear 'the buffalo or elk-skin robe decorated with beads, sea-shells, chiefly mother-of-pearl, attached to an otter-skin collar and hung in the hair.' Leggins and moccasins are painted; a plait of twisted grass is worn round the neck. The women wear their long robe without a girdle, but to it 'are tied little pieces of brass and shells, and other small articles.' 'The dress of the female is indeed more modest, and more studiously so than any we have observed, though the other sex is careless of the indelicacy of exposure.' 'The Sokulk females have no other covering but a truss or piece of leather tied round the hips and then drawn tight between the legs.' Three fourths of the Pisquitpaws 'have scarcely any robes at all.' The Chilluckittequaws use skins of wolves, deer, elk, and wild cats. 'Round their neck is put a strip of some skin with the tail of the animal hanging down over the breast.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 321, 340–1, 351, 389, 361, 377, 526, 528, 532–3.
[292] Many of the Walla Walla, Nez Percé, and Cayuse females wore robes 'richly garnished with beads, higuas,' etc. The war chief wears as a head-dress the whole skin of a wolf's head, with the ears standing erect. The Okanagans wear in winter long detachable sleeves or mittens of wolf or fox skin, also wolf or bear skin caps when hunting. Men and women dress nearly alike,
[296] and are profuse in the use of ornaments. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127, 294–8; *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 306. The Flatheads often change their clothing and clean it with pipe-clay. They have no regular head-dress. From the Ya-

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531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.
802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-
805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine
487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chillockittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Klikatats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn. and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Colx's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 229; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

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made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches. Others, those belonging to the richer people, had conical tents made of skins or mats put over them. Poles were also erected at many graves, and on these were suspended many of the articles belonging to the dead person. The poles always had the bark peeled off, and were painted. . . . On many graves, particularly in the country near Lytton, the canoe of the deceased was placed bottom side up. On some graves were wooden figures almost life size, carved as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman. The Indians say that a long time ago grave figures were not used by the Upper Thompsons, and that this custom was borrowed from the lower division,[114] which in turn, it may be added, received it from the people of the lower Fraser River. The Shuswap use shelters similar to those described, but do not place canoes or carved posts on graves. The Upper Lillooet build a framework of four poles from which are suspended the belongings of the deceased.

In general very little attention is given to lining the grave, although poles or bark may sometimes be used for the purpose. Of the Flathead, however, Turney-High writes,

> They say the oldest method was to prepare a floor of flat stone slabs when these could be had. A wall of such stones was then built up higher than the depth of the corpse. A houselike structure was then prepared to protect his head and feet. Saplings were laid over this stone structure and a parfleche stretched over them before the grave was filled in.[115]

Alternative, simpler methods are also described.

The grave is prepared for flexed or extended burial according to usage. In the north central Plateau (Lillooet, Shuswap, Upper Thompson, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alêne) the body is invariably flexed but in all other parts of the area the extended position is found.

Although cremation is the universal practice of the Carrier, and perhaps the Sekani, Morice interprets it as a recent importation from the Coast. The original custom of the Athabascans, he asserts,

> seems to have been to enclose the bodies within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from three to seven feet above the ground on stout poles or posts, much after the manner of the scaffoldings whereon they cache their provisions and other household impedimenta. . . .

[114] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 329.

[115] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 142.

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776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life.

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact.

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted.

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The Colvilles have a game, alkollock, played with spears. A wooden ring some three inches in diameter is rolled over a level space between two slight stick barriers about forty feet apart; when the ring strikes the barrier the spear is hurled so that the ring will fall over its head; and the number scored by the throw depends on which of six colored beads, attached to the hoop's inner circumference, falls over the spear's head.[185] The almost universal Columbian game of guessing which hand contains a small polished bit of bone or wood is also a favorite here, and indeed the only game of the kind mentioned; it is played, to the accompaniment of songs and drumming, by parties sitting in a circle on mats, the shuffler's hands being often wrapped in fur, the better to deceive the players.[186] All are excessively fond of dancing and singing; but their songs and dances, practiced on all possible occasions, have not been, if indeed they can be, described. They seem merely a succession of sounds and motions without any fixed system. Pounding on rude drums of hide accompanies the songs, which are sung without words, and in which some listeners have detected a certain savage melody. Scalp-dances are performed by women hideously painted, who execute their diabolical antics in the centre of a circle formed by the rest of the tribe who furnish music to the dancers.[187]

whole stud, his household goods, clothes, and finally his wives; and a single heat doubles his fortune, or sends him forth an impoverished adventurer. The interest, however is not confined to the individual directly concerned; the tribe share it with him, and a common pile of goods, of motley description, apportioned according to their ideas of value, is put up by either party, to be divided among the backers of the winner.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404, 412. 'Running horses and foot-races by men, women and children, and they have games of chance played with sticks or bones;' do not drink to excess. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 237, 406. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 557; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 269.

[185] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 310–11.

[186] The principal Okanagan amusement is a game called by the voyageurs 'jeu de main,' like our odd and even. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, p. 463. It sometimes takes a week to decide the game. The loser never repines. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 308–11; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 71.

[187] Among the Wahowpums 'the spectators formed a circle round the dancers, who, with their robes drawn tightly round the shoulders, and divided into parties of five or six men, perform by crossing in a line from one side of the circle to the other. All the parties, performers as well as spectators, sing, and after proceeding in this way for some time, the spectators join, and the whole concludes by a promiscuous dance and song.' The Walla Wallas 'were formed into a solid column, round a kind of hollow

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276 All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

177 231 182 The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

535 square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Perces dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses. 533 *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah,* in constant repetition,.....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ho-ha-ho-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

276 [188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.

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Dances Associated with War

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The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains
535 and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau
721 at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native
787 rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party car-
727 ries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[80] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[81] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[80] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[81] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[92]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[93]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[92] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[93] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority. They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

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ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[68] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[68] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[73]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native concepcion of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[74]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[75]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[73] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[74] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[75] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[76]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[76] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[67]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[68]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[67] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[68] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

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We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

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Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,

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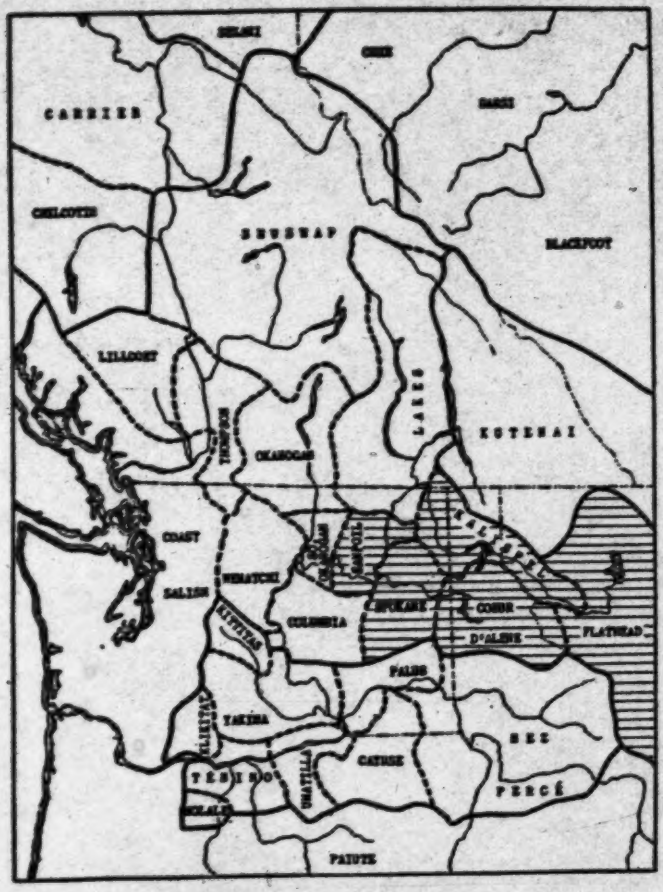

MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[55]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[55] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[98] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[98] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkĭd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkĭd' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 198, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

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may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

The Flathead Spirit Dance

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Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'l, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (ɫle·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

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This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

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the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader remains.

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays,

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535/796 sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

[431] Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

The Colvilles have a game, alkollock, played with spears. A wooden ring some three inches in diameter is rolled over a level space between two slight stick barriers about forty feet apart; when the ring strikes the barrier the spear is hurled so that the ring will fall over its head; and the number scored by the throw depends on which of six colored beads, attached to the hoop's inner circumference, falls over the spear's head.[185] The almost universal Columbian game of guessing which hand contains a small polished bit of bone or wood is also a favorite here, and indeed the only game of the kind mentioned; it is played, to the accompaniment of songs and drumming, by parties sitting in a circle on mats, the shuffler's hands being often wrapped in fur, the better to deceive the players.[186] All are excessively fond of dancing and singing; but their songs and dances, practiced on all possible occasions, have not been, if indeed they can be, described. They seem merely a succession of sounds and motions without any fixed system. Pounding on rude drums of hide accompanies the songs, which are sung without words, and in which some listeners have detected a certain savage melody. Scalp-dances are performed by women hideously painted, who execute their diabolical antics in the centre of a circle formed by the rest of the tribe who furnish music to the dancers.[187]

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whole stud, his household goods, clothes, and finally his wives; and a single heat doubles his fortune, or sends him forth an impoverished adventurer. The interest, however is not confined to the individual directly concerned; the tribe share it with him, and a common pile of goods, of motley description, apportioned according to their ideas of value, is put up by either party, to be divided among the backers of the winner.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Repl.*, vol. i., pp. 404. 412. 'Running horses and foot-races by men, women and children, and they have games of chance played with sticks or bones;' do not drink to excess. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 237, 406. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.* pp. 557; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 269. 525

[185] *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 310–11.

[186] The principal Okanagan amusement is a game called by the voyageurs 'jeu de main,' like our odd and even. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, p. 463. It sometimes takes a week to decide the game. The loser never repines. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 308–11; *Stuart's Montana*, p. 71. 524

[187] Among the Wahowpums 'the spectators formed a circle round the dancers, who, with their robes drawn tightly round the shoulders, and divided into parties of five or six men, perform by crossing in a line from one side of the circle to the other. All the parties, performers as well as spectators, sing, and after proceeding in this way for some time, the spectators join, and the whole concludes by a promiscuous dance and song.' The Walla Wallas 'were formed into a solid column, round a kind of hollow 535

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

All are habitual smokers, always inhaling the smoke instead of puffing it out after the manner of more civilized devotees of the weed. To obtain tobacco the native will part with almost any other property, but no mention is made of any substitute used in this region before the white man came. Besides his constant use of the pipe as an amusement or habit, the inland native employs it regularly to clear his brain for the transaction of important business. Without the pipe no war is declared, no peace officially ratified; in all promises and contracts it serves as the native pledge of honor; with ceremonial whiffs to the cardinal points the wise men open and close the deliberations of their councils; a commercial smoke clinches a bargain, as it also opens negotiations of trade.[188]

The use of the horse has doubtless been a most powerful agent in molding inland customs; and yet the introduction of the horse must have been of comparatively recent date. What were the customs and character of these people, even when America was first discovered by the Spaniards, must ever be unknown. It is by no means certain that the possession of the horse has materially bettered their condition. Indeed, by facilitating the capture of buffalo, previously taken perhaps by stratagem, by introducing a medium with which at least the wealthy may always purchase supplies, as well as by rendering practicable long migrations for food and trade, the

square, stood on the same place, and merely jumped up at intervals, to keep time to the music.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 526, 531. Nez Percés dance round a pole on Sundays, and the chiefs exhort during the pauses. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101–2, 245. In singing 'they use *hi, ah,* in constant repetition,.....and instead of several parts harmonizing, they only take eighths one above another, never exceeding three.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 242–3. 'The song was a simple expression of a few sounds, no intelligible words being uttered. It resembled the words *ho-ha-ho-ha-ho-ha-ha-ha*, commencing in a low tone, and gradually swelling to a full, round, and beautifully modulated chorus.' *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 106. Chualpay scalp-dance. *Kane's Wand.*, p. 315. Religious songs. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 338–40; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 124.

[188] De Smet thinks inhaling tobacco smoke may prevent its injurious effects. *Voy.*, p. 207. In all religious ceremonies the pipe of peace is smoked. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 288–9. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 286; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 184. 'The medicine-pipe is a sacred pledge of friendship among all the northwestern tribes.' *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 220.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[180] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[181]

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[180] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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[181] With the Pend d'Oreilles 'it was not uncommon for them to bury the

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivant à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

765 Grief at the death of a relative is manifested by cutting the hair and smearing the face with black. The women also howl at intervals for a period of weeks or even months; but the men on ordinary occasions rarely make open demonstrations of sorrow, though they sometimes shed tears at the death of a son. Several instances 762 765 of suicide in mourning are recorded; a Walla Walla chieftain caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons. The death of a wife or daughter is deemed of comparatively little consequence. In case of a tribal disaster, as the death of a prominent chief, or the killing of a band of warriors by a hostile tribe, all indulge in the most frantic demonstrations, tearing the hair, lacerating the flesh with flints, often in- 782 flicting serious injury. The sacrifice of human life, generally that of a slave, was practiced, but apparently no- 765 where as a regular part of the funeral rites. Among the Flatheads the bravest of the men and women ceremonially bewail the loss of a warrior by cutting out pieces of their own flesh and casting them with roots and other [551] articles into the fire. A long time passes before a dead person's name is willingly spoken in the tribe. The 764 corpse is commonly disposed of by wrapping in ordinary clothing and burying in the ground without a coffin. The northern tribes sometimes suspended the body in a canoe from a tree, while those in the south formerly piled their dead in wooden sheds or sepulchres above ground. The Okanagans often bound the body upright to the trunk of a tree. Property was in all cases sacrificed; horses usually, and slaves sometimes, killed on the grave. The more valuable articles of wealth were deposited with the body; the rest suspended on poles over and about the grave or left on the surface of the ground; always previously damaged in such manner as not to tempt the sacrilegious thief, for their places of

164 756 *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

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But the parallels with the north must not be under-emphasized. An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[26]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[26] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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554/622 Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alène, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

622 The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south
692 central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39. [30] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 94.

of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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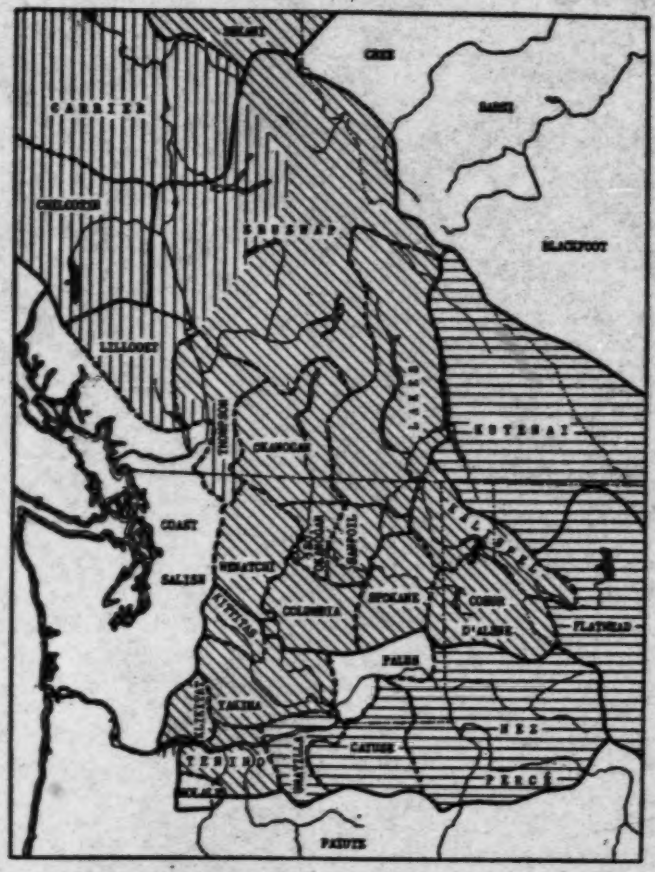
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[41]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[42]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[41] *Idem*, p. 254.
[42] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.

[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[48] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[49]

Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[48] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[49] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

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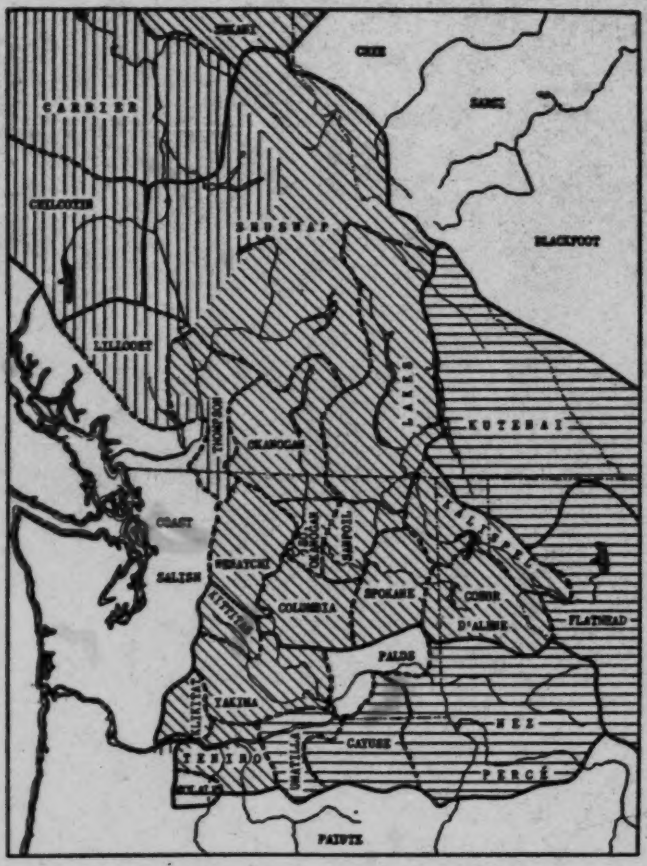

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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555 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified
554 by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was
829 not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

567 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed
829 above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

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ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains:

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[10]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[11]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

[10] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.
[11] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

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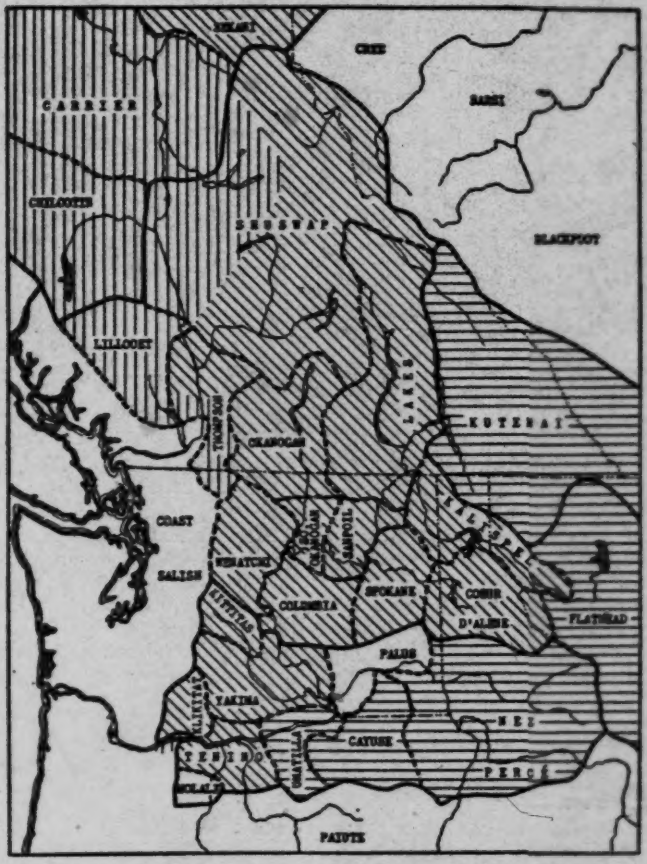
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

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their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[90] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[91] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[90] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[91] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chillnckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

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562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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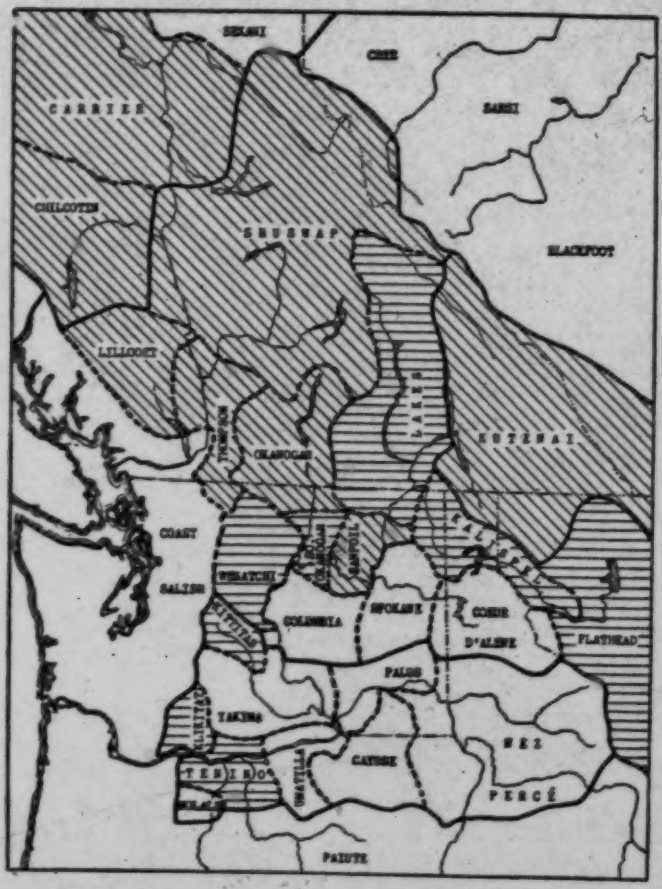

MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching:* special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching:* specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

parties are yet children, and such a contract, guaranteed by an interchange of presents, is rarely broken. To give away a wife without a price is in the highest degree disgraceful to her family. Besides payment of the price, generally made for the suitor by his friends, courtship in some nations includes certain visits to the bride before marriage; and the Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents; indeed the latter may herself propose if she wishes. Runaway matches are not unknown, but by the Nez Percés the woman is in such cases considered a prostitute, and the bride's parents may seize upon the man's property. Many tribes seem to require no marriage ceremony, but in others an assemblage of friends for smoking and feasting is called for on such occasions; and among the Flatheads more complicated ceremonies are mentioned, of which long lectures to the couple, baths, change of clothing, torch-light processions, and dancing form a part. In the married state the wife must do all the heavy work and drudgery, but is not otherwise ill treated, and in most tribes her rights are equally respected with those of the husband.

When there are several wives each occupies a separate lodge, or at least has a separate fire. Among the Spokanes a man marrying out of his own tribe joins that of his wife, because she can work better in a country to which she is accustomed; and in the same nation all household goods are considered as the wife's property. The man who marries the eldest daughter is entitled to all the rest, and parents make no objection to his turning off one in another's favor. Either party may dissolve the marriage at will, but property must be equitably divided, the children going with the mother. Discarded wives are often reinstated. If a Kliketat wife die soon after marriage, the husband may reclaim her price; the Nez Percé may not marry for a year after her death, but he is careful to avoid the inconvenience of this regulation by marrying just before that event. The Salish widow must remain a widow for about two years,

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and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

[178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated, and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom....the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunnivay's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

[179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of incontinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[a]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[a]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[a] *Idem*, p. 254.
[a] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.

[23] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.

[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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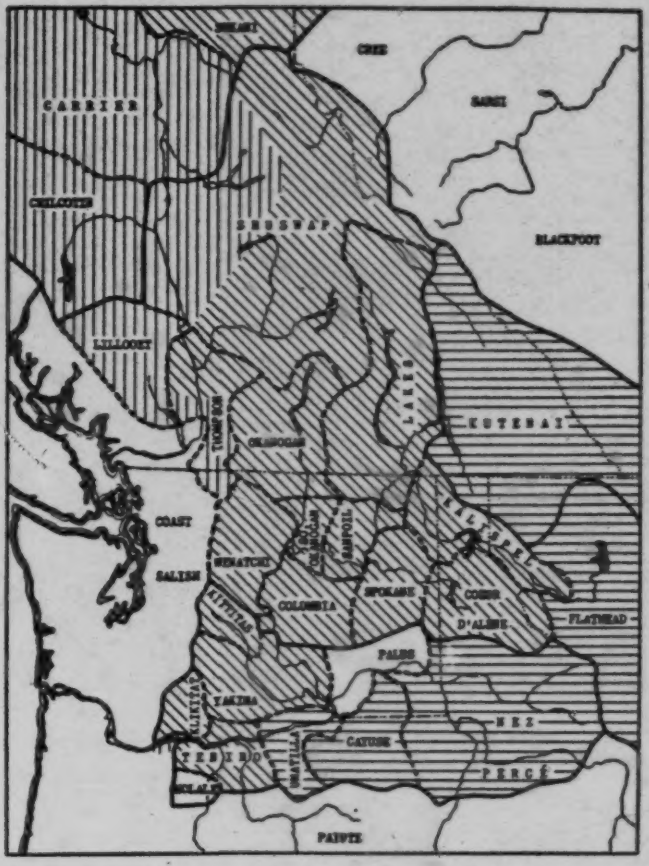
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

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The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

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565 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 554 829 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

567 829 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

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a few are procured in trade. They are well treated and their children are seldom reminded of their parentage. 567

Slaves are somewhat more common among the Coeur d'Alêne. Teit records that some are purchased from other tribes but my infor-

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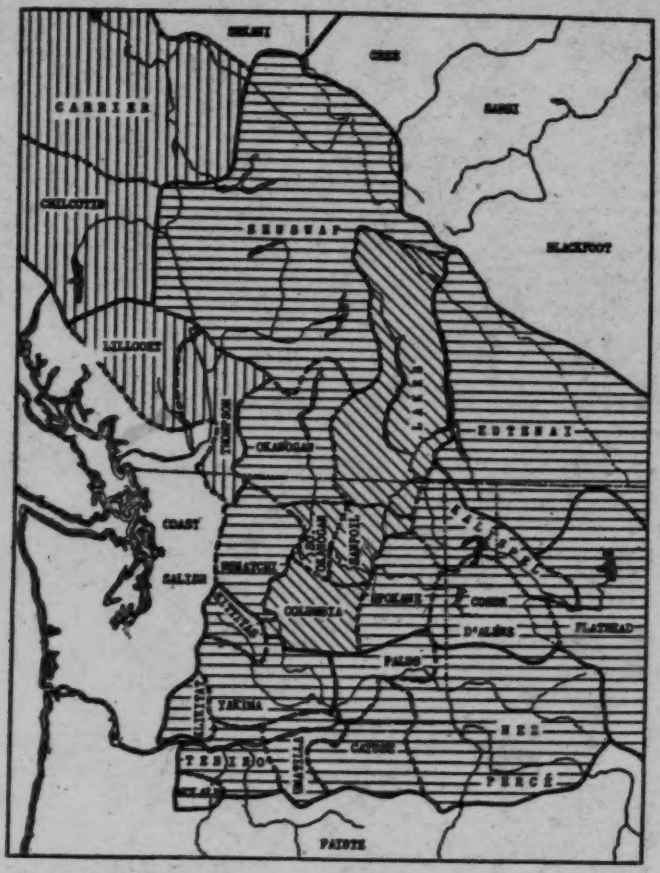

MAP 5. Slavery. *Vertical hatching:* slaves numerous; *horizontal hatching:* slaves scarce; *diagonal hatching:* slavery absent.

mants denied this. However, if any are of Paiute origin, as Teit suggests, they are certainly purchased. Here, too, 567

slaves were kindly treated, and most people regarded them as affectionately as their own wives or children. When a slave boy died his owner has been

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known to show as much grief and weep as much over him as if he had been one of his own children. When a slave woman bore children to her master she became the same as a free member of the tribe.[47]

Slavery is but weakly developed among the Kutenai; all slaves are captives of war. They are not cruelly treated.[48]

Trading in slaves is practiced to a limited degree by the Thompson, but like their southern neighbors, most of the slaves held are captives.

When a captive woman bore children to her master, she was considered one of the tribe, and neither she nor her children were ever afterward called slaves, at least openly. Some captive children were treated well, and were even adopted into the family of their master, but other slaves were often treated cruelly.[49]

The Lower Thompson treat their slaves with even less consideration, and family adoption is unknown. Indeed, the children of slaves occupy like status; they are not free.

This new note of ill-treatment is characteristic of the Shuswap also. Here a slave is sometimes killed upon the death of his master, and buried with the latter. Trading in slaves is practiced to a moderate degree.[50] The lot of the slave is an unfortunate one among the Carrier, as well.

To the south, among the Wishram, somewhat similar conditions prevail. Although ordinarily well treated, the recalcitrant slave is dealt with severely; a runaway's feet are burned with a torch. A chief's personal slaves, at least, are killed upon the death of their master. A certain number of slaves are taken in war, but the majority are purchased, often to be resold. Trading in slaves is an important activity here at the great Dalles commercial center.[51]

In nearby Oregon the Tenino take quite a different attitude toward slavery. The institution is disapproved but tolerated. In late years the Klamath encouraged them to act as intermediaries in the slave trade between them and the Wishram.

The Klamath perhaps subject their slaves to less human treatment than any other Plateau tribe.

Their fate depends on their captors, who may elect to rear them as their own children. More commonly they are miserably treated, made to sleep with the dogs, fetch water, etc., and beaten if they are lazy.

[47] *Idem*, p. 158. [48] Chamberlain, *Kootenay Indians*, p. 185.
[49] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 290. [50] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 536, 592.
[51] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 221–24.

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It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

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Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158.
[55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

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and become widely dispersed. In the north, most slaves come from the Coast, especially the Lower Fraser region. Quite a number are of Athabascan origin. Third in importance as a source are the Lillooet. Slaves held by the Athabascans are of local as well as outside origin. The Carrier alone make slaves of their own orphans. The Kutenai occasionally obtain a slave or two from the Lakes. To what extent the Salish hold Kutenai slaves is unknown.

The outside origin of Plateau slaves is directly correlated with friendliness within the area. Throughout the central region relations are so thoroughly harmonious that the taking of slaves is unthinkable. In the north this is true to a lesser but considerable degree. It does not at all apply to the Athabascans, or Athabascan relations with the Salish. Since slaves must come from the outside, those areas most accessible and least capable of defense are raided.

Several factors suggest that slavery is recent in the Plateau and atypical to it; or, if not recent, of minimal significance until recently. The Carrier and Sekani are excepted, as participating in quite another tradition. First, the distribution is significant: slavery is unknown to the most central region, and but meagerly developed in the remainder of the area except among those western tribes in close contact with the Coast. These groups not only give greater emphasis to slavery, but treat their slaves in a manner typical of the Coast. Slavery among other Plateau peoples is hardly deserving of the name considering the mild and even kindly treatment the subjects receive. The Shuswap are somewhat more severe than their southern neighbors, though the institution itself is not of great significance to them. This is consonant with their exposure to the Thompson, Chilcotin, and especially the Carrier.

The Wishram and Klamath are the most impressive slaveholders of the area. Yet Spier judges Klamath slavery to be largely a development subsequent to the acquisition of the horse.

> It is probable that the introduction of the horse stimulated predatory habits and made possible frequent trading visits to the Columbia river people. From them they adopted for themselves the practices of slave-holding on an enlarged scale and of measuring wealth in terms of slaves, and were encouraged to raid more frequently, and to carry their spoil to the river to exchange for the highly desired horses. Prior to the coming of the horse, we may suppose the very mild interest in holding captives found in any Basin or Californian tribe.[58]

[58] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 40.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

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General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 79 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

622 624 727 367 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Advn.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves. . . . and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

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omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ʔlux^{w}) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·ʔlux^{w}) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (k'tɪ'tâs). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

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names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

Tribal Organization

As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

[12] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 84.

[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13–19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

622 624 727 567 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves . . . and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

parties are yet children, and such a contract, guaranteed by an interchange of presents, is rarely broken. To give away a wife without a price is in the highest degree disgraceful to her family. Besides payment of the price, generally made for the suitor by his friends, courtship in some nations includes certain visits to the bride before marriage; and the Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents; indeed the latter may herself propose if she wishes. Runaway matches are not unknown, but by the Nez Percés the woman is in such cases considered a prostitute, and the bride's parents may seize upon the man's property. Many tribes seem to require no marriage ceremony, but in others an assemblage of friends for smoking and feasting is called for on such occasions; and among the Flatheads more complicated ceremonies are mentioned, of which long lectures to the couple, baths, change of clothing, torch-light processions, and dancing form a part. In the married state the wife must do all the heavy work and drudgery, but is not otherwise ill treated, and in most tribes her rights are equally respected with those of the husband.

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3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

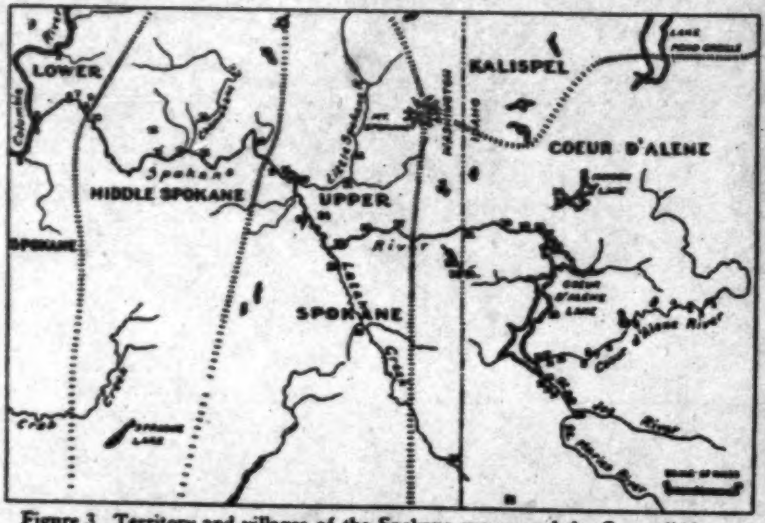

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[31] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[32]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[31] See section VII.
[32] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[33] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[33] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

parties are yet children, and such a contract, guaranteed by an interchange of presents, is rarely broken. To give away a wife without a price is in the highest degree disgraceful to her family. Besides payment of the price, generally made for the suitor by his friends, courtship in some nations includes certain visits to the bride before marriage; and the Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents; indeed the latter may herself propose if she wishes. Runaway matches are not unknown, but by the Nez Percés the woman is in such cases considered a prostitute, and the bride's parents may seize upon the man's property. Many tribes seem to require no marriage ceremony, but in others an assemblage of friends for smoking and feasting is called for on such occasions; and among the Flatheads more complicated ceremonies are mentioned, of which long lectures to the couple, baths, change of clothing, torch-light processions, and dancing form a part. In the married state the wife must do all the heavy work and drudgery, but is not otherwise ill treated, and in most tribes her rights are equally respected with those of the husband.

When there are several wives each occupies a separate lodge, or at least has a separate fire. Among the Spokanes a man marrying out of his own tribe joins that of his wife, because she can work better in a country to which she is accustomed; and in the same nation all household goods are considered as the wife's property. The man who marries the eldest daughter is entitled to all the rest, and parents make no objection to his turning off one in another's favor. Either party may dissolve the marriage at will, but property must be equitably divided, the children going with the mother. Discarded wives are often reinstated. If a Kliketat wife die soon after marriage, the husband may reclaim her price; the Nez Percé may not marry for a year after her death, but he is careful to avoid the inconvenience of this regulation by marrying just before that event. The Salish widow must remain a widow for about two years,

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

The inland dwelling is a frame of poles, covered with rush matting, or with the skins of the buffalo or elk. As a rule the richest tribes and individuals use skins, although many of the finest Sahaptin houses are covered with mats only. Notwithstanding these nations are rich in horses, I find no mention that horse-hides are ever employed for this or any other purpose. The form of the lodge is that of a tent, conical or oblong, and usually sharp at the top, where an open space is left for light and air to enter, and smoke to escape. Their internal condition presents a marked contrast with that of the Chinook and Nootka habitations, since they are by many interior tribes kept free from vermin and filth. Their light material and the frequency with which their location is changed contributes to this result. The lodges are pitched by the women, who acquire great skill and celerity in the work. Holes are left along the sides for entrance, and within, a floor of sticks is laid, or more frequently the ground is spread with mats, and skins serve for beds. Dwellings are often built sufficiently large to accommodate many families, each of which in such case has its own fireplace on a central longitudinal line, a definite space being allotted for its goods, but no dividing partitions are ever used. The dwellings are

kima to the Okanagan the men go naked, and the women wear only a belt with a slip passing between the legs. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 133, 148, 240–1, vol. ii., p. 144. Nez Percés better clad than any others, Cayuses well clothed, Walla Wallas naked and half starved. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 54, 124, 127–8. At the Dalles, women 'go nearly naked, for they wear little else than what may be termed a breech-cloth, of buckskin, which is black and filthy with dirt.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 409–10, 426, 473. The Kliketat women wear a short pine-bark petticoat tied round the loins. *Townsend's Nar.*, pp. 78, 178, 148. 'Their buffaloe robes and other skins they chiefly procure on the Missouri, when they go over to hunt, as there are no buffaloe in this part of the country and very little other game.' *Gass' Jour.*, pp. 189, 205, 218–19, 295. Tusahepaw 'women wore caps of willow neatly worked and figured.' *Irving's Astoria*, pp. 315, 317, 319; *Id.*, *Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301. The Flathead women wear straw hats, used also for drinking and cooking purposes. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 45–7, 198. The Shushwaps wear in wet weather capes of bark trimmed with fur, and reaching to the elbows. Moccasins are more common than on the coast, but they often ride barefoot. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 301. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 229–30; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 264, and cut; *Fremont's Ogn. and Cal.*, pp. 186–7; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 222; *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268; *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 304; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 74–5, 78.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

[178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated, and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

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and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

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In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[74] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[75] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[76] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[74] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[75] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[76] Smith, *loc. cit.*

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

609 619 sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

103 The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[54] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[55] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

101 Following are notes relating to specific groups:

487 Lakes: Also called Lake,[56] Senijextee, etc.[57] Native name, sna'itck stk[58] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[54]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[55]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[56]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[57]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

194 [58]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; *a* with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

114 affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western
174 America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]
621

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

101 The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly
114 five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically
619 autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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619

even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta'x^{u}]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

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Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Dené Race*, pp. 138 f.

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omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ʾlux^{w}) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·ʾlux^{w}) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (kʾtɪ́ʾtăs). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

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names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

Tribal Organization

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As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

[12] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 84.
[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13–19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

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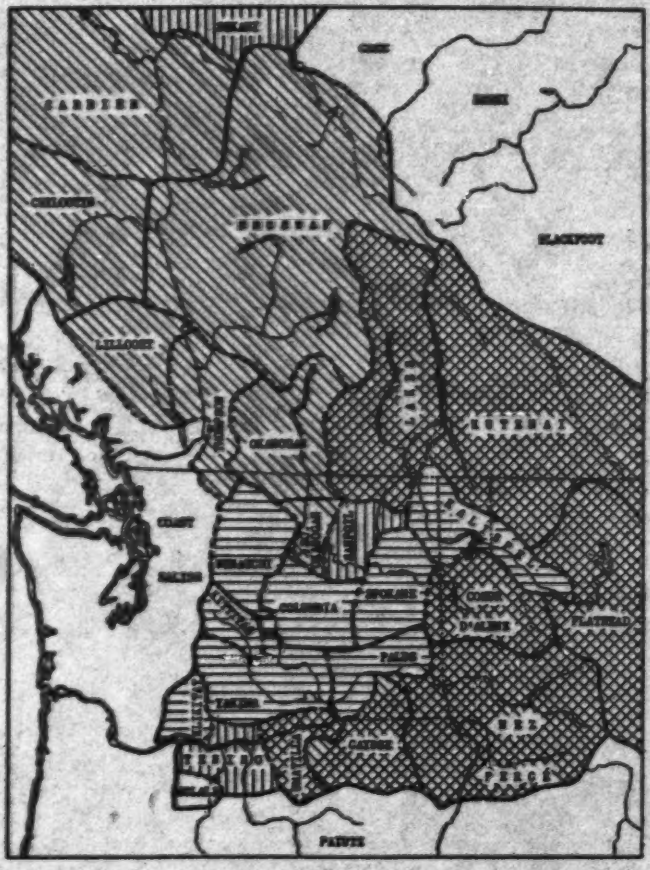
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

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Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more im-
[177] portant with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

[14] Spinden, *Nez Perté Indians*, pp. 242 f.

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Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[15]

[15] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

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This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

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not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

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northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

V.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

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any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[30] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[31]

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This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[30]Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[31]The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

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into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[24] *Ibid.*, 309.

[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

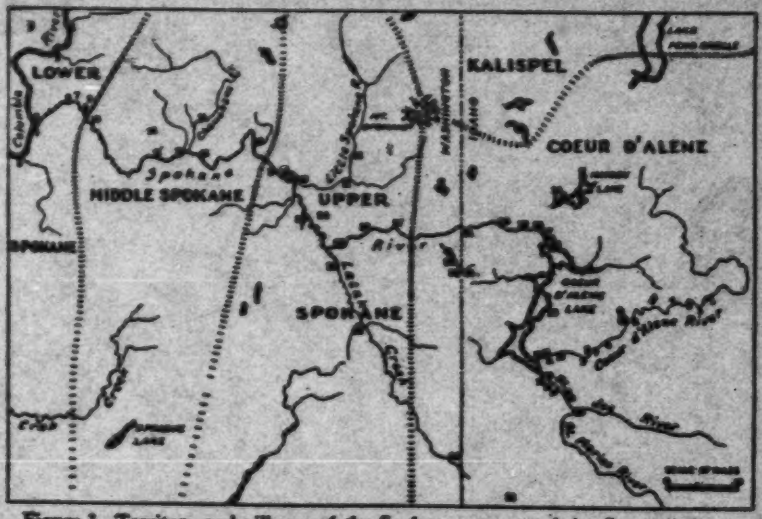

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

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relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[22] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[22] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

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The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

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sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[24] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[25] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

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Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[26] Senijextee, etc.[27] Native name, sna'itck stk[28] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[24]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[25]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[26]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[27]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

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[28]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; a with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

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canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqâl·spi'lam (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate·'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped that of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smɔkâ'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *ll; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.

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SOCIAL CULTURE

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

General Orientation

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A clear picture of political organization in the Plateau is indispensable to a proper understanding of intra-areal relations in other aspects of culture, and at the same time illuminates important historical problems of inter-areal character. In any general American perspective the cultures of the Pacific slope stand together in contrast to those east of the Cordillera. Kroeber pointed this out many years ago, emphasizing, among other traits, the atomistic nature of political organization in the west:

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> From Alaska to California there does not appear to have been a group that could be designated as a political unit, other than what it is usual to call the village; that is, the settlement on one spot. These villages may often have been in a state of neutrality toward each other, or even linked by peaceful trade, inter-marriage, and participation in each other's ceremonies and festivals; but they were linked like nations of the civilized world, whose intercourse, however intimate, friendly, and long enduring, is always as it were in a condition of suspense, because built on nothing more than the occasions of the moment, the states being irreconcilable units.[1]

This separatism is carried to the highest degree by the Indians of northwestern California, where even a village is not looked upon as a political unit, and chiefs are lacking entirely.[2] Such near-anarchy is, however, characteristic of but a small area, and the general coastal pattern of village autonomy must not be looked upon as a negative trait, as might be suggested by this extreme. Indeed, even in northwestern California the condition is in a sense a positive one, with group action achieved through the influence of rich men whose leadership is respected. It is the lack of distinct village unity that sets off northwestern California, rather than the nature of the leadership. Northward throughout the coastal strip, "chieftainship" is correlated with high rank, wealth, and often with sib leadership. But always the village is definitely recognized as the political unit.

This is not a mere matter of passive recognition or acceptance, however. Village autonomy is strongly defended; it is considered right and proper. In 1819 Franchère, the fur trader, wrote of the Lower Chinook,

[1] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 396.
[2] Kroeber, *Handbook*, pp. 830–33.

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"All of the villages form so many independent sovereignties. . . . Each village has its chief."[3] My own Chinook informants affirmed the existence of village autonomy; they pointed out that able or well-liked village chiefs may exert an influence over other villages but insisted that this extended power is strictly unofficial.

In coastal British Columbia, unilinear descent groups make their appearance and divide the political composition of the village. But the political integrity is maintained, even though any one chief must of necessity be a member of but one lineage. Indeed, the very existence of these sib groups has been attributed by Sapir to the splitting and uniting of villages. The villagers'

> adherence to their respective traditions will be such that neither of the former village communities will give up its peculiar set of privileges, so that a twofold division of the community, as accentuated by these privileges, will persist. If we imagine this process to have occurred several times, we will gradually arrive at a community which is subdivided into several smaller units which we may call septs or bands, or perhaps even clans, each of which has its distinct stock of legendary traditions and privileges exercised by its titled representatives and whose former connection with a definite locality is still remembered.[4]

Despite these disruptions and individualities of tradition, the political unity of the village is maintained.

Murdock points out that Haida chiefs are strictly house or clan officials:

> The clan chief is always also a house chief, usually the richest and most powerful in the village. He holds his position by inheritance and cannot be deposed. His authority depends upon his wealth, personality, and prestige. [However,] where several clans inhabit a village, one of their chiefs may enjoy more prestige than the others, but this is due solely to his superior wealth or social status or to the number and strength of his followers.[5]

Even here, in the face of impressive clan dominance, the village is not lost as a political unit; at least no substitute or larger political unit emerges.

The specialized character of village autonomy on the Pacific slope is further indicated by contrast with conditions on the Asiatic side of Bering Strait. There the small local group is seldom independent; larger

[3] Franchère, *Narrative*, p. 250.
[4] Sapir, *Social Organization*.
[5] Murdock, *The Haidas*, pp. 237 f.

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affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]

The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

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> The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

> They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

> The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x^{w}", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

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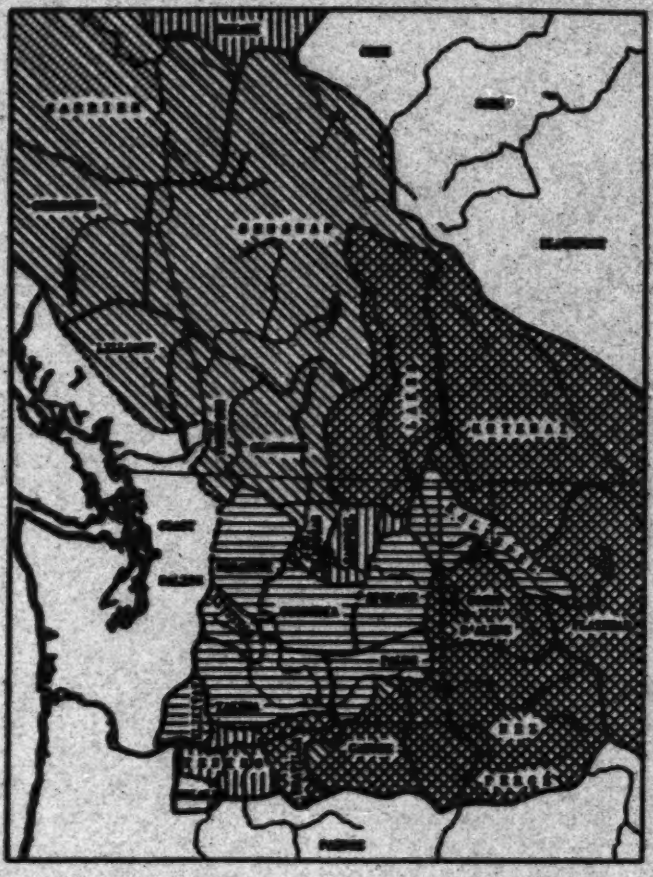
village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



Map 2. Types of political organization. Vertical hatching: strict local autonomy; diagonal hatching: small bands of villages; horizontal hatching: local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; cross hatching: tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

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The second sub-type is characteristic of the western Plateau of Canada (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Shuswap, Thompson, Okanogan, Southern Okanogan). Here the band is merely one unit of an expanded autonomous local group. Instead of the tiniest settlements maintaining strict independence, as among the Sanpoil, a small number within a relatively small range join together in a mutually advantageous union. In this case the group is looked upon in the same light as a large village. It is essentially a union of domestic and peacetime order. Chieftanship is central; if a member village needs a measure of strictly local control, the officer is a head-man, not a chief. The group is not looked upon as a union, but as a unit. Even among the Sanpoil the germs of this organization can be seen. Although a village of but two or three houses is theoretically strictly independent, with its own chief and group name, there is some modification of this in practice. Such a settlement sometimes sends representatives to the assembly of the nearest large town and solicits advice from the chief of that town. In such a case the small group does not recognize a chief, but names a head-man. Under this arrangement, however, the actions of the large village are never binding upon the other. Decisions which are thought wise are respected, others ignored.

The Southern Okanogan illustrates well the expanded autonomous local group. Four independent bands are recognized, each with its chief and small local territory. A man moves freely from one village to another within the band. Sharp distinctions are made between one band and another, especially where dialectical differences exist. This is true even within limited areas along the Okanogan River. These distinctions are purely political, however, not social or ethnic.[16] This type of band organization is surely a local development upon an earlier pattern now retained only by the peripheral Tenino, Sekani, and the internally peripheral Sanpoil.

Lines of Demarcation and Territorial Rights

The exactitude with which boundaries are drawn varies greatly, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Where the village is the political unit boundaries are automatically exact so far as the settlements themselves are concerned, but intervening and tributary territory must be divided arbitrarily, or be used in common. In the typical organization of the Plateau, territorial segmentation is highly

[16] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 73 ff.

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specific along river courses, but hunting territory is invariably used in common by a number of villages or small bands. An area may be frequented more or less exclusively by a larger band but this is a matter of convenience rather than principle and does not particularly affect the specificity of boundaries.

The trans-river boundaries are quite precise in all cases. This is more or less inevitable since villages are small and situated close together. The actual line of division is seldom geographically intermediate, but is determined with regard to fishing grounds. Each village is associated with one or more of these grounds, depending upon the size of the village and the productivity of available fishing sites. Permanent villages are located with regard to topography, fuel supply, and winter warmth; therefore fishing sites may or may not be near by. Hunting and gathering grounds, on the other hand, cannot be so neatly parcelled out. It would be naturally impossible for each of many small villages to have a specific hunting territory and yet, whether partially cause or only effect, the political attitudes toward fishing territorial rights and hunting territorial rights differ essentially one from the other, as shown by actual organization.

It must be emphasized at this point that these distinctions and differences are largely formal and structural, not economically functional. A boundary is a conceptual thing, not a physical barrier. Although a particular fishing station "belongs" to a particular village, any friendly person, either acquaintance or stranger, is welcome to use it. But the village with territorial rights over the station is quite definitely the visitor's host. In the use of hunting territory no such host is recognized if the man is a member of the ethnic group; he is simply exercising his right.

These remarks apply to all of the Plateau groups recognizing local autonomy except the Athabascans on the north, particularly the Chilcotin and Sekani. Among these peoples mobile bands replace fixed villages and a considerable territory is required by each. In consequence hunting territory comes to be of primary importance and it is not surprising that each band recognizes specific territorial rights in this respect. Jenness states unequivocally that each of the Sekani bands possesses its own hunting territory.[17] Among the Carrier, large villages often hold specific territory. The mere recognition of such territorial rights is

[17] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

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influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

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simple reinterpretations. The recency is attested not only by the limited distribution but also by the existence of the "nobility of merit," an anomaly in a class society. This is obviously a concession to persisting Plateau social standards. Teit observes that

> it is quite evident that this clan organization must have a common origin with that of the Coast Salish. . . . We may safely conclude that the clan system was introduced through intercourse with the coast tribes, who, in their turn, seem to have adopted it from their northern neighbors.[a]

This would also be true, by implication, of class distinctions.

Similar conditions exist among the Shuswap. The western groups have recently adopted sept and class organization, while the eastern bulk of the tribe has retained typical Plateau social culture. In this case the period of adoption is very recent and quite definite.

> The organization of the [Fraser] Canyon division, and all of the bands of the Fraser River division north of Dog Creek, was based upon the system obtaining among the Carrier and Chilcotin. By 1850 the Lake division had also adopted this system in nearly all its details, and the Dog Creek band was very much influenced by it. At the same date the Pavilion band had adopted several features of a similar system prevailing among the Lillooet, and the High Bar band was beginning to be influenced by it also. The Indians state explicitly that these customs were introduced through the Canyon division, who had obtained them from the Chilcotin, and through the Soda Creek band, who had adopted them from the Carrier; and in these bands the system had its firmest hold.
>
> The people of these bands were divided into three classes—noblemen, common people, and slaves. The first class were called "chiefs," "chiefs' offspring," or "chiefs' descendents," and constituted in various bands from nearly one-half to over two-thirds of the whole population. In most bands there were few slaves; some of them the property of the nobility, and some that of the common people. The nobles had special privileges, and generally married within their class. Nobility was hereditary, and seems to have descended in both the male and the female line. Women of this class appear to have been on an equality with men, and had in all respects the same rights and privileges. Hereditary chiefs of the bands always belonged to the nobility, but it seems that they tended to become rather chiefs of clans than of bands.[a]

This reconstruction exemplifies well the history and conditions of adoption of coastal class and sept concepts, not only by the Shuswap,

[a] *Idem*, p. 254.
[a] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 575 f.

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but by the Chilcotin and Carrier as well. The borrowing is in all cases very recent, but somewhat earlier among the Athabascans than the Shuswap. It was in all cases superficial. Deep-seated Plateau standards have been maintained in one way or another. The "nobility" may include two-thirds of the population; a parallel "aristocracy of merit" may permit all men to be in effect upperclassmen; all may hold slaves; slaves are few; women maintain their equality; "special privileges" are said to exist but are hard to find.

It appears unnecessary to go over this same ground for the Chilcotin and Carrier. At least some of the latter never adopted sept organization. But all appear to entertain notions of class, somewhat more fundamental than among the Salish. Morice has indicated the recency of these concepts among the Carrier, while Goldman has ascertained that comparable organization among the Chilcotin is of quite recent adoption.[43] For the Sekani, Jenness provides specific dates:

> When the Sekani were confined to the western side of the Rockies through the hostility of the Beaver and the Cree they impinged continuously against the Gitksan and Carrier Indians, who were organized in the complex manner so characteristic of the Pacific coast. The Sekani not only fought, traded, and intermarried with them, but assimilated many of their customs and tried to adopt their divisions into exogamous matrilinear phratries. . . . The Sekani of McLeod lake . . . quickly abandoned the attempt. . . . The Finlay River Sekani, on the other hand, seem to have been intriguing with the phratric system for nearly a century. . . . They first attempted to establish phratries about 1850.[44]

In contrast to their southern neighbors, however, the adoption of phratries by the Sekani did not involve the adoption of class stratification. Any such concept remains quite foreign to them.

Very different notions of social status are found on the eastern border of the Plateau. From the Kutenai to the Nez Percé a man's war record fixes his social ranking. This record is based upon arbitrary acts, or coups, in typical Plains fashion. Each coup is objectively indicated by a notch on a stick, a mark on a man's white horse, or in some similar fashion. These are displayed as obviously as possible so that all may be made aware and kept aware of one's standing. Furthermore, formal recitation of coups is a common practice upon social occasions. The most significant aspect of this ranking is its relation to chieftain-

[43] Morice, *Canadian Déné*, pp. 201 ff.; Irving Goldman, oral information.
[44] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 46 f.

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not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

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[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

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The office is received either through inheritance or by selection on the basis of achievement everywhere in the Plateau. The principle of heredity may be rigidly applied or may be scarcely more than a nominal pattern modifiable at will. Selection, on the basis of achievement, may

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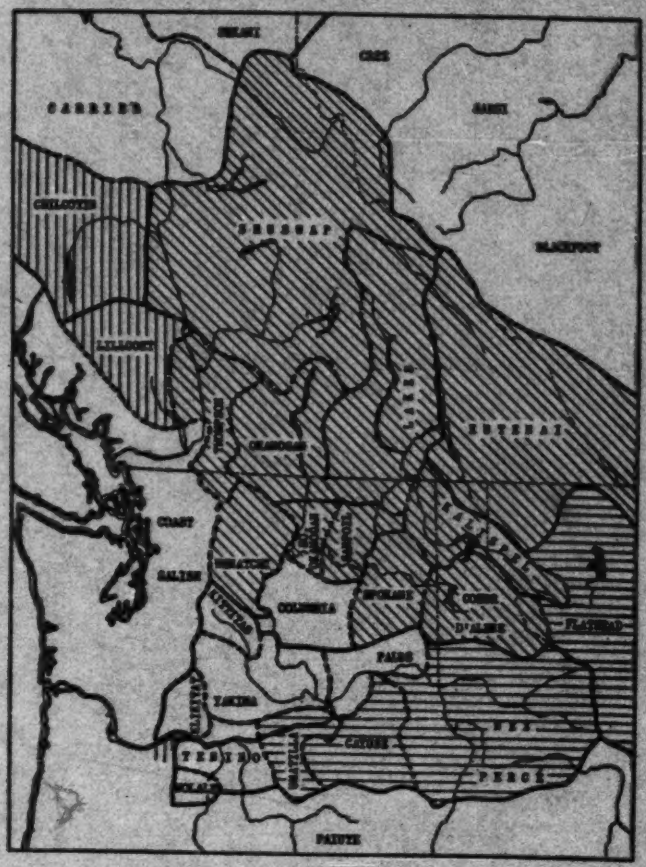

MAP 3. Bases of chieftainship. *Vertical hatching:* strict heredity; *diagonal hatching:* loose heredity; *horizontal hatching:* selection on basis of achievement.

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be according to very formal rules or merely by consensus of opinion. The variations found, however, are not random nor lacking in order. Three patterns emerge with considerable contrast. The first is strict inheritance; this is found only among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wish-

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ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains:

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[20]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[21]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

[20] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.
[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

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622 example, the normal order of hereditary succession is son, brother, brother's son, but no priority is held by one son over another, by one brother over another, etc. Thus the office cannot be filled automatically. In case of vacancy the assembly selects one of those eligible by standards of honesty, sound judgement, even temperament, and, most important of all, skill in arbitration. If no one of the candidates satisfies these requirements, the assembly may choose any man it wishes; often the sub-chief is given the office.[22]

Among the Southern Okanogan the principle is identical, but actual history indicates

> discrepancy between theory and practice. In theory, the people choose the chief and he holds office as long as he retains their approval. Any individual might be chosen, parentage supposedly not determining the selection. In practice, chieftainship is hereditary, and there is no known instance of a chief ever having been deposed from office.[23]

(The Sanpoil office is held throughout life both nominally and actually, except in the event of abdication.)

Teit states that the Thompson lack hereditary chiefs, but explains that

> the fact that a man was the son of a chief gained him a certain amount of popularity. If, however, he failed to possess or attain the necessary qualifications [wealth, wisdom, oratorical powers, prowess in war], he was not called "chief," nor would he be considered in any way different from the mass of the people. Nevertheless chieftaincy has descended in some instances, particularly among the Lower Thompsons, from father to son for several generations.[24]

In other words, the Thompson phrasing differs somewhat from that of their southern neighbors, but the pattern remains essentially the same.

In the southern Plateau a partial parallel is seen among the Nez Percé. Spinden categorically asserts that

> the position of chief was obtained by election. Although fathers were often succeeded by their sons, this was only because the latter had a strong following and not because the chieftainship was regarded as hereditary.[25]

Spinden does not emphasize the formal standards which play so great a role among the Nez Percé and other southeastern tribes. These distinctly set off the southeastern Plateau.

[22] Cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 110. [23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 97.
[24] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 242. [25] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 242.

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But the parallels with the north must not be under-emphasized. An underlying Plateau unity is very probably present, despite the impressive differences upon which the classification above is postulated. The formal standards mentioned are largely concerned with war activity and the evaluation is in terms of typical Plains coups. The obviously borrowed nature of this complex and the persistence of a tendency to heredity suggests that at an earlier time the southern and northern areas were one in recognizing a loose heredity with definite selection in the hands of the people.

It is highly improbable that the hereditary component of this complex was borrowed from coastal cultures of recent form. Spier has properly emphasized the direct correlation between wealth and rank, and chiefly heredity, on the Coast. Heredity in chieftainship was probably an outgrowth from the wealth-rank complex in its emphasis upon inheritance. In the Plateau wealth and rank are virtually absent. Further, chiefly heredity gives the appearance of respectable antiquity there. In view of these considerations the reasonable conclusion is that the principles of heredity are independent in the two areas. Or, very possibly, the principle as phrased in the Plateau may at an earlier time have characterized both that area and the Coast.

The Sekani fall quite outside these patterns.

> Each band had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgement. His authority, therefore, was merely nominal; he was a leader, not a chief; and if he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. When the hunters discussed their affairs over the evening fires and laid their plans for the morrow, the voice of the leader carried more weight, but no more actual authority, than that of the youth who had just entered the ranks of manhood. At any time a new leader might arise and supersede him.[26]

It was noted above that riches and political power are but very slightly correlated in the Plateau. The chief is everywhere, except among the Klamath, known by a distinctive term of address which designates him as a political official. Naturally this term is not applied to his family, nor are they set apart from the rest of the community by virtue of the man's office. Even among the Lillooet this is true, although the chief holds his office by reason of being born to the chiefly lineage. Distinctive insignia are assumed by chiefs of the Umatilla,

[26] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 44.

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Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

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The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39. [30] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 94.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[23] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[a]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[b] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[c] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[d]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[a] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[b] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 78.
[c] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[d] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish. 721

The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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"Upper Spokan" for those of the Little Spokane river valley and eastward.[41] These are unfortunate confusions; local usage in no way conforms. The Middle Spokane are the peoples of the middle Spokane river country and the Upper Spokane are those of the upper Spokane river country, the territories in each case extending for considerable distances both north and south of the river. Thus "upper" refers to upriver, not "upper" in the sense of north on our maps or somewhat higher in altitude. Teit's alternative terms of "Little Spokan" for the Little Spokane river valley peoples and "South Spokan" for those of the Latah valley are not objectionable except that they suggest a greater demarcation between these groups than existed.

Upper Spokane: snxwɔmɛ'ne, "people of steelhead trout place" (from village name, nxwɔmɛ'ne, village no. 20). See map, fig. 3. See Middle Spokane.

Nespelem: snspi·'lux^{a}, "prairie people, Nespelem people" (from village name, nspi·'lɔm, no. 2). See map, fig. 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Sanpoil: snpui·'lux^{a}, "people of the gray country" (from village name, npui·'lux^{a}, no. 15). See map, fig. 4. See Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem."

Southern Okanogan: also called the Sinkaietk; snɔq'aie'tk^{a}, (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. The southern boundary of this group is the least definite. A partial explanation is that the country south of the portion of the Columbia river on which Southern Okanogan villages were located is a vast desert waste, virtually unclaimed. More complete and definite information on boundaries and villages of this group will be available with the publication of Miss Velpha Walters' work (see footnote 34).

Colville: sxoie'ɬp^{a} (group name). See maps, figs. 1, 4. Further information will be found in Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," and Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

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Chelan: tcɑɬlă'n (group name). See map, fig. 5. The Chelan mixed freely with the Wenatchi, sharing at least one village (Chelan no. 1, Wenatchi no. 5) and using the upper Wenatchee river for salmon fishing. Informants declared, however, that one Chelan chief held more or less power over all Chelan villages.

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Wenatchi: wɪnă'cɛ, "waters (large stream) flowing out" (Sahaptin word), npskwa'us (Salish [Wenatchi] name; group name?). See map, fig. 5.

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40. smkəmi'p ("base, root, or bottom").
At upper end of Slocan lake. (T no. 12)

41. nəmi·'məltəm.
On Caribou lake, to the west of the narrows between the Arrow lakes. (T no. 20)

42. stəxtlu'stəm ("first in line," "leader").
This was a small settlement at the present town of Malo, Washington, about four miles northeast of Curlew lake. It was a permanent camp where trapping, hunting, and trap fishing were possible.

43. skwá'rəxən ("crane").
This was reputedly a Lakes settlement at the present site of Addy, Washington. (E)

KALISPEL VILLAGES

1. clkudl'teu' ("sweat house on bank"?).
This winter village, located on the Clark Fork river opposite the present town of Locke, was one of the largest of the Kalispel, numbering 400 or 500 persons.

2. stsu'qulu'.
This settlement was situated on the east side of Clark Fork river opposite the mouth of Tacoma creek, three miles north of the present Cusick. It was a winter village of 300 or 400 persons. Wood was easily obtained here and game was plentiful in the nearby mountains.

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A chief always was resident either here or at the preceding village.

3. skum'xu'u.
The mouth of Tacoma creek was the site of this summer fishing village. A weir with a funnel trap was maintained here for taking trout, suckers and other small fish. Population, 100 or more.

4. st'lkam'tsi'.
This village, the largest of the Kalispel, was located at the mouth of the Calispel river near Cusick. It was a permanent village but most populous in summer at which time 1,000 persons often gathered, attracted by the communal distribution of the catch at the large fish trap. A chief always was located here.

5. ntcm'kanʌ' ("outlet of lake").
The outlet of Calispel lake was the site of this village. It was a permanent settlement of six to twelve families.

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22. nłpo'tsəntsən.
A summer camp where Tekoa, Washington, is now located. (T, p. 38)

23. tcēlā'tcəlitcəmən.
Half way down Coeur d'Alene lake on the east side. (T no. 2, Coeur d'Alene lake and Spokane river division, p. 39)

24. xant'a·"qən' (refers to Hayden lake).
This was the principal village of the upper Coeur d'Alenes and the home of their chief. It was situated on the north side of Hayden lake at the site of the present town of Hayden Lake. The permanent population was about 100 persons.

25. ntc'amki'nkwı' ("where the lake becomes a river").
This settlement, located where the town of Coeur d'Alene is now found, was larger than no. 24 by perhaps twenty persons, making it the largest of the Coeur d'Alene villages. It was, however, subject to the chief of the preceding village (24), though it had a "head man" in charge of strictly local affairs. This was a permanent settlement.

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26. smələle'na.
Near no. 25, on the same side. (T no. 4, Spokane river division, p. 39)

27. tp'o·'ənē'łpəm.
Very near the no. 26, on the same side. (T no. 5, *idem*)

28. nca·'rept.
A little below no. 26. (T no. 5, *idem*)

29. stcatkwe'i.
A little below no. 28. (T no. 7, *idem*)

30. q'ami·łn ("water falling into a mouth [pothole]").
A small camp, numbering perhaps fifteen people, at Post Falls on the Spokane river.

31. ntsaqe'łpənc ("fir on the banks").
This was a large permanent village situated on the Spokane river about a mile above the place now called Spokane Bridge, Washington. It was the furthest downriver camp of the Coeur d'Alene.

32. mu·'łc ("cottonwood").
This camp of thirty people was to be found near the swamp at the south end of Liberty lake.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[175] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[175] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkaní, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchískat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

622 624 727 567 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

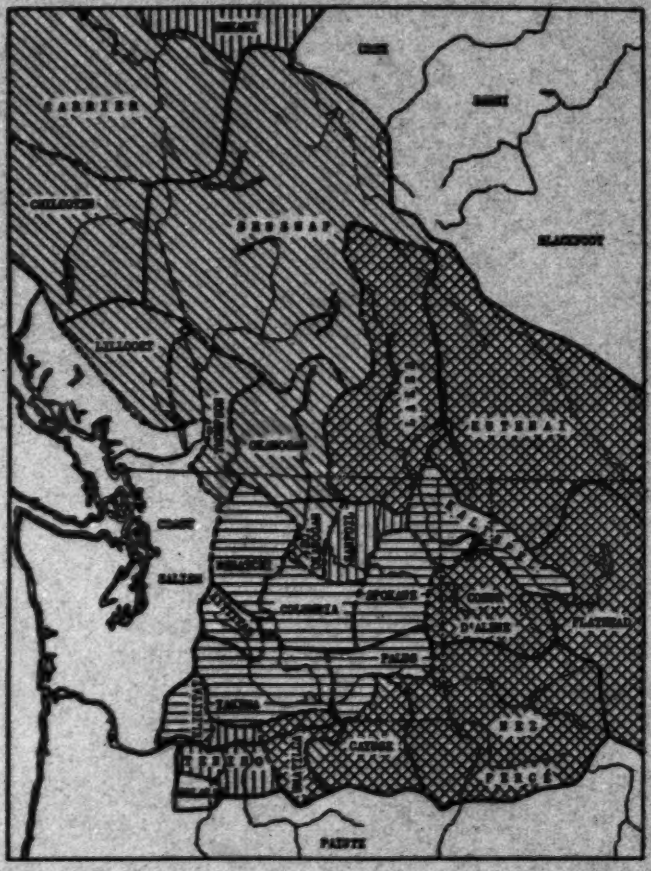
622 624 681 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Waseçs 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Josst*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

1: Ray. E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

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council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[16]

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Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more important with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

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[16] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 242 f.

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into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[32] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[33] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[34] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[35] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[36] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[32] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[33] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[34] *Ibid.*, 309.

[35] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[36] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[173] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[173] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Mensem computant lunis, ex spkaní, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per feriæ. Hebdomadam unicam per splchákat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxéus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Sellosæ*, p. 130; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 274.

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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[23] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[24]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[25] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[23] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[24] Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[25] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

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[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[24] *Ibid.*, 309.

[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a mouth before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, between June and September, varying a month or more according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[162]

[162] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rep.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 236; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[175] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[175] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex-spkaní, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splcháskat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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622 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with
624 the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Pris-
727 oners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but
567 they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging
624 to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship
681 descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 308–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Advent.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 342–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 106; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxviii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Advent.*, p. 330. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

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721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[43]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[44] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[45] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[46]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[43] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[44] Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, p. 78.
[45] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish. 721

The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[68]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[68] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.[69]

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

> Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

> There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.
>
> Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.[70]

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

[69] Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.
[70] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24–27.

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it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

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No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, *passim*; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[175] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[175] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkaní, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splohásket, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

[176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 209–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognised chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 242–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Jocst*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxviii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

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Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Shuswap, Kalispel, and Lillooet. The practice is lacking for the Kutenai, Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and Carrier. Information is absent for the remainder of the area. The badge seems to be more a concession to vanity than a mark of authority.

The powers of a chief vary greatly from tribe to tribe. In the south central Plateau the chief is a leader, counselor, and judge. He directs the movements of his people, attempts to guide their actions in a manner thought wise, concerns himself with the general welfare, arbitrates disputes, and renders the final verdict in all criminal cases which reach him. His greatest power lies in his function as judge. Also, he presides over the council or assembly; here he can strive to direct its actions by oratory and reasoning but has no dictatorial power. Near the time of first white contact with the Southern Okanogan, Alexander Ross observed that

> the government, or ruling power among the Oakinackens is simple yet effective, and is little more than an ideal system of control. . . . It is wonderful how well the government works for the general good, and without any coercive power to back the will of the chief, he is seldom disobeyed: the people submit without a murmur.[27]

The Wishram chief, on the other hand, wields considerable actual power. Spier emphasizes this point, explaining that the chief's word is implicitly obeyed. His position as judge is similar to that of northeastern neighbors but his verdicts are even more binding.[28]

Southward among the Klamath different conditions prevail.

> The emphasis among the chiefly functions is clearly on leadership in war and haranguing the people. Every morning before daylight he addresses them and again in the evening until the sun is well down.[29]

An almost exact parallel to these formal addresses is found among the Southern Okanogan, except that the chief's spokesman is the functionary rather than the chief himself.[30] The Sanpoil spokesman observes a similar, though less formal practice. The relationship with the Plains spokesman is patent. The assumption of this role by the Klamath chief is understandable since the latter is not served by a spokesman.

[27] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292; cf. Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 111; cf. Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 94 f.

[28] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 212 f.

[29] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 39. [30] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 94.

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492 The native saddle consists of a rude wooden frame, under and over which is thrown a buffalo-robe, and which is bound to the horse by a very narrow thong of hide in place of the Mexican *cincha*. A raw-hide crupper is used; a deer-skin pad sometimes takes the place of the upper robe, or the robe and pad are used without the wooden frame. Stirrups are made by binding three straight pieces of wood or bone together in triangular form, and sometimes covering all with raw-hide put on wet; or one straight piece is suspended from a forked thong, and often the simple thong passing round the foot suffices. The bridle is a rope of horse-hair or of skin, made fast with a half hitch round the animal's lower jaw. The same rope usually serves for bridle and lariat. 285 Sharp bones, at least in later times, are used for spurs. 314 Wood is split for the few native uses by elk-horn wedges 321 driven by bottle-shaped stone mallets. Baskets and ves- 324 sels for holding water and cooking are woven of willow, bark, and grasses. Rushes, growing in all swampy localities are cut of uniform length, laid parallel and tied together for matting.

703 72 continued hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Coe's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 305, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 93–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have instituted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance..... is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Opn.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 235–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.

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703 721 confirmed hostility. The wisest and bravest is annually elected war chief. The war chief carries a long whip and secures discipline by flagellation. Except a few feathers and pieces of red cloth, both the Flathead and Kootenai enter battle perfectly naked. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 232–45, vol. ii., p. 160. The Cayuse and Sahaptin are the most warlike of all the southern tribes. The Nez Percés good warriors, but do not follow war as a 702 profession. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 185–6, 206, 308–12, vol. ii., pp. 93–6, 139. Among the Okanagans 'the hot bath, council, and ceremony of 726 smoking the great pipe before war, is always religiously observed. Their laws, however, admit of no compulsion, nor is the chief's authority implicitly obeyed on these occasions; consequently, every one judges for himself, and either goes or stays as he thinks proper. With a view, however, to obviate this defect in their system, they have instituted the dance, which answers every purpose of a recruiting service.' 'Every man, therefore, who enters within this ring and joins in the dance....., is in honour bound to assist in carrying on the 726 war.' *Id., Adven.*, pp. 319–20. Mock battles and military display for the entertainment of white visitors. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 173–4. The Chilluckittequaws cut 721 off the forefingers of a slain enemy as trophies. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 375–6. When scouting, 'Flathead chief would ride at full gallop so near the foe as to flap in their faces the eagle's tail streaming behind (from his cap), yet no one dared seize the tail or streamer, it being considered sacrilegious and fraught with misfortune to touch it.' *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 238. A thousand Walla Wallas came to the Sacramento River in 1846, to avenge the death of a young chief killed by an American about a year before. *Colton's Three Years in Cal.*, p. 52. One Flathead is said to be equal to four Blackfeet in battle. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 49; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 312–13; *Gray's Hist. Or.*, pp. 171–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 235–7; *Stanley's Portraits*, pp. 65–71; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–5; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 495.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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It is probable that those more kindly treated lived much the same life as any poor Klamath. Apparently they are not killed at funerals. Raids for the specific purpose of taking slaves are more prominent than among any other Plateau tribe, excepting perhaps the Carrier. Many of those taken are resold among the Tenino or at the Dalles. Considerable numbers are involved, both in local holdings and in trade.[52]

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Almost all slaves either held or traded by Plateau peoples are of non-Plateau nativity, except in the extreme north. Teit makes the categorical assertion that "There were no interior Salish or Sahaptin people kept, bought, or sold as slaves, either at the Dalles or elsewhere."[53] In other statements, however, he modifies this; in the holdings of the Coeur d'Alêne "a very few slaves were from the Umatilla and other tribes to the south and southwest but they were generally bought back. . . . There are several cases of Coeur d'Alêne women having been made captive and enslaved by Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead]."[54] My own informants, Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, Kalispel, and Flathead alike, failed to corroborate these assertions. Of the Shuswap, Teit writes, "numerous slaves taken in war from the Lillooet were sold back to their friends."[55] The Lillooet, of course, are not wholly interior, geographically.

> The Shuswap and Upper Thompsons seldom captured slaves from each other; but when this did happen, they were taken back by force of arms, purchased by their friends, or, after some years, allowed to escape. Formerly there were many Lillooet slaves among the upper divisions of the [Thompson] tribe.[56]

Teit provides information suggesting that interior Salish are not uncommonly taken as slaves by the Sekani and Cree.[57]

In general, then, slaves held within the Plateau are extra-areal in origin; this is more consistently true in the south than in the north. Southern slaves are dominantly of Shoshonean affiliation; a secondary source is the Coast, especially the coast of Oregon. Most slaves from the Coast reach the Plateau via the Dalles market. The Klamath obtain the bulk of their slaves from northern California, particularly the Pit River area. As a consequence of trade many of these reach the Dalles

[52] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 27, 39–41.
[53] Teit, *Middle Columbia Salish*, p. 122.
[54] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 158. [55] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 536.
[56] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 269.
[57] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 547, 551.

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It is interesting to note that the Tenino, close by the Dalles, say that the Klamath encourage them to deal in slaves, whereas the Klamath themselves appear to have borrowed the trait from the Dalles.

WARFARE AND PACIFISM

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General areal conditions of concordance and discordance are implicit in the discussions of the preceding section, but specific practices remain to be considered. Standing out boldly over all is the impressive emphasis upon pacifism which characterizes the central region. A very different picture is seen in the south, with intensive conflict as the theme. But the conflict is of the type associated with the Plains, from where it obviously was borrowed. Thus it is not typical of the Plateau. Among the interior Salish of Canada warfare is certainly not absent but no clear pattern emerges; the activities appear to be raids and feuds on a large scale.

Pacifism

The Sanpoil, at the geographical center of the Plateau, emphasize no other value in life more than pacifism, unless it be the fundamental equality of all men. Warfare is virtually unknown to them, and has been unknown from time immemorial. No living man can recount an instance of conflict even from traditional history. Warfare is occasionally mentioned in folk tales and mythology, but the scene is always far distant and the Sanpoil are not involved. There is no question but that the first duty of a chief is to maintain peaceful relations with all other peoples. Upon the slightest threat of warfare the chief calls the assembly together and pleads with the people to maintain neutrality at any cost. The virtues of pacifism are extolled and a strong appeal is made that a long record of peacefulness be not marred. When the Spokane were at war with the whites their chief attempted to persuade his close friend, the Sanpoil chief Kolaskin, to induce his people to join the conflict. Kolaskin was a man who thirsted for glory, but he and the Sanpoil paid no heed to the entreaties.[59]

The Southern Okanogan participate in this ideal of pacifism. Walters states that they "have evidently been a peaceful people for at least several centuries. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Cox describes them as such. . . . The historical stories of battle obtained are of occurrences in a past so distant that the accounts have a mythological flavor."[60]

[59] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25–27, 114 f. [60] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 79 f.

721 Teit declares that peace generally prevailed among all the Salishan tribes of the American Plateau prior to the coming of the horse. He heard of no wars even after that time by the Sanpoil, Colville, Southern Okanogan, Okanogan, or Lakes, against any other Salishan group of the American Plateau. Nor did the Flathead engage in war with other Salishan groups. But in another place Teit asserts that

> the Pend d'Oreilles [Flathead] and Kalispel had a few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokane in a war with the latter. . . . There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanogan group [Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan, Lakes].[41]

This does not deny the existence of raids and occasional small scale feuds. The Southern Okanogan, for example, "are much afraid of the Thompson because they raid at night, looting and burning tipis. They fight only when the Southern Okanogan surprise them in their attacks."[42] Raiding parties are groups of adventurers, usually two or three canoes full, who are bent on personal gain and whose actions are not representative of the attitudes of the tribes from which they come. Raids are usually made at night or when the able-bodied men of a village are absent. The Sanpoil suffer from the depredations of the Lakes, Shuswap, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé.[43] Lakes villages are sometimes sacked by the Shuswap and Kutenai. Retaliatory raids are seldom made by the Southern Okanogan or Sanpoil, but the Lakes sometimes seek revenge.

622 628 According to Teit, feuds between families occur less often among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, and Lakes than among the Thompson. Chiefs attempt to bring about settlement of such conflicts by arbitration. The payment of blood money is often necessary.[44]

Serious quarrels sometimes develop over gambling disputes. A Lakes example is instructive, both as to the nature of such controversies and the efforts of chiefs to maintain peace:

> A large number of people had gathered at Marcus, in southern Lakes territory, for trading purposes. The group included Lakes, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Kutenai. During the progress of a gambling game a bitter dispute developed between a Lakes and a Spokane. The Lakes loaded his

[41] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 257, 359 f.
[42] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 78.
[43] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25, 115.
[44] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 259.

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gun while the Spokane boasted, "What do you intend to do with that gun? You know my body is made of iron and nothing can hurt me." "Yes, I know," the Lakes answered, but raised the weapon and fired, killing his adversary. A second Spokane rushed up and he too was killed. Now the Spokane drew knives and killed the Lakes gunman. The two sides retired for reënforcements and shortly thereafter faced each other again.

Now Gregory, the Lakes chief, stripped off his clothing and walked between the two opposing lines. The Spokane shouted for his death, saying that the score would thereby be evened. But Gregory spoke: "You say that nothing but my death will stop you from fighting." Turning to his own people he continued, "There is nothing to stop you from fighting except your own will power." Then to all, "When I lie dead, the sun will disappear behind the clouds; there will be no sun. Deep darkness will prevail. No one can know how long it will remain dark. There will be no children, no old crippled folk. I do not wish to frighten you. But if you drop your arms, the trail will be opened. The sun will slowly appear. The old blind people will have a night to sleep. Then the trail will be open. We shall have no more bloody days until the end of our time. You can kill me if you will, but if you drop your arms, there will be no more bleeding. We shall have an open trail." It is said that the antagonists dispersed.

In similar manner a Sanpoil chief dissuaded his people from attempting retaliation against a raiding party: "Our children are dead and our property is destroyed. We are sad. But can we bring our children to life or restore our property by killing other people? It is better not to fight. It can do no good."

Northern Warfare

Teit's description of Thompson warfare serves well as a type picture for the Canadian interior Salish.

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The Thompson Indians often engaged in war-expeditions. Up to 1858, and even later, regular tribal wars, in which one whole tribe was arrayed against another, were very rare. Most of their warfare was for the sake of plunder, adventure, or revenge. War parties numbered from five or six individuals to companies of several hundred. A man who refused to join in these war-expeditions lost the respect of his fellows. Though many of the chiefs favored peace rather than war, yet there was seldom much difficulty in obtaining men for these expeditions, many joining for the sake of the spoils, others merely from love of adventure or to obtain distinction. . . . The war-party was under the command of a war-chief. Young men of little experience were always kept in the middle of the party. The best men always led. A number of scouts were sent ahead, and watched the camp at night. Large parties employed four

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721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[66]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[66] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[68]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[68] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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628 band or village toward which their venom is directed, not the Shuswap, for example, as a whole and indiscriminately.

The Carrier and Chilcotin participate somewhat in this pattern of warfare, but the Carrier, particularly, have been much influenced by the Coast—note the importance of the shaman discussed above—and also by the Shuswap with whom they are in fairly intimate contact and whose war parties they sometimes join.

Southern Warfare

177 721 Warfare in the southern Plateau and among the Kutenai has little in common with that of the northern region. All information available today pictures the typical Plains war complex among all of the combative tribes except the Klamath. Those tribes participating in the Plains tradition with little or no modification are the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla. The Plains pattern is wholly obvious but slightly modified among the Yakima, Klikitat, Columbia, and perhaps the Tenino.

721 There is reason to believe that these tribes were distinctly less warlike prior to the adoption of the Plains pattern. The Columbia, and perhaps even the Klikitat and Yakima, may have leaned toward the Sanpoil ideal of pacifism. But it is equally certain that the Walula, Cayuse, and Nez Percé engaged in martial conflict at a much earlier time, and thus possessed an antecedent pattern. This early warfare saw the Sahaptins arrayed against a common enemy, the Shoshoneans. Sahaptin informants declare that this antagonism, and consequent conflict, has existed from time immemorial. The Tenino and Umatilla have been allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Bannock and Paiute, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. This situation, with its well defined alliances and long-standing hostilities, made for a very different type of warfare from the raid-like activities in the north. It is true that marauding parties took advantage of these antagonisms to gain approval for their acts, but in the larger exploits ethnic pride and prestige were involved. Individual glory was sought at the same time, but this motive was secondary until Plains influence was felt. Even thereafter the exploits were directed against the traditional enemy; personal glory might not be achieved at the expense of traditional bonds of friendship. Engagements were on a relatively large scale; considerable preliminary preparation was involved. Long distance marches were made to meet the enemy. Open

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field fighting was the rule. The leader and the party were representatives of Sahaptin people of the region, not merely aggregations acting in their own interest. No excuse for precipitating a battle was necessary other than the traditional enmity. On the other hand, informants declare that warfare of this kind, even on a small scale, has never existed between the Sahaptin and the Salish. A traditional friendship here parallels the traditional hostility further south. This is corroborated by Lewis and Clark, who observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity in 1805.[68]

Klamath war practices may well reflect certain early conditions further north, since they were never greatly influenced by the Plains. The probability of this is increased by the fact that their affiliation is definitely not to the south. Spier writes:

> Klamath warfare is deserving of the name in contrast to the conflicts of northern Californian tribes. Raids are carried into foreign parts for plunder, slaves, and revenge, and received in turn. No single town or tribelet is alone concerned: warriors are drawn from the Klamath at large. This is in marked contrast to the Yurok and their neighbors, e.g., whose foreign wars seem but an extension of the private quarrels that set town against town, and in which the large body of Yurok may remain neutral. Warfare is here not mere retaliation, murder for murder, but is engendered by patriotic motive and tangible benefits.

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This last might well have been written of the Umatilla or Nez Percé. Spier continues, lending support to this correlation:

> There can be little doubt that the Klamath attitude is due to their contact with tribes of warlike habit to the north and east.
>
> Besides the close bond with the Modoc, normally friendly relations are maintained with the Molala across the Cascades, the . . . people of the Deschutes, and the Wishram-Wasco at the Dalles. Warfare is directed in all other directions. . . . Internecine warfare is probably as significant as that with foreigners, for quarrels and blood feuds are quite common. . . . Continued feuds prove disastrous, for retaliation is carried out with all the intensity and destructiveness of a foreign war. Villages are attacked at dawn, houses and property destroyed, women and children carried away into slavery.[70]

Spier and Sapir's information on Wishram warfare indicates that

[68] Cf. Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 391 ff.
[70] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 24–27.

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it resembles that of the Klamath, with modifications reminiscent of the Coast.[71]

Plains-type Warfare

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No other element borrowed from Plains culture is more conspicuous in the Plateau than the Plains war complex. Yet information is exceedingly scanty, especially with reference to the conduct of the war party. About all that can be discussed here are the more objective features such as counting coup.

As noted above, the Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla are the tribes which adopted Plains-type warfare to the fullest degree. It is beyond question that this adoption came subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. This statement should be taken literally; that is, the adoption was subsequent, not contemporary. It has been generally assumed that the horse carried the complex, as it were, done up on a pack on its back. The evidence today indicates that the horse came to the Plateau from the south, not the east (see above).

Indirect evidence pointing to recency of adoption of the war complex is plentiful, but need not be reviewed here.[72] The most conclusive evidence is the complete awareness by the natives of the borrowing, both as to time and source. Any Flathead, Umatilla or Kutenai man of advanced age can supply details, often heard directly from the lips of members of the two or three preceding generations who were consciously instrumental in the borrowing. Even today the Yakima obtain some of their regalia for war dances directly from Plains tribes.

Formal war honors are counted by the Umatilla, Kutenai, and Flathead, and probably by the Nez Percé. Spinden is silent on the subject in his description of the Nez Percé, but indirect evidence is supplied in a statement by Ross. In describing a Nez Percé war horse he says: "The horse was a pure white. After painting the animal's body all over, and drawing a variety of hieroglyphic devices, the head and neck were dappled with streaks of red and yellow."[73] It is probable that some of these marks recorded coups, inasmuch as the Umatilla record coups in exactly this manner. No other Plateau tribe than these recognize coups, with the improbable exception of the Yakima and Klikitat.

[71] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 228–35.

[72] See Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 225, 235; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 359 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 227 ff.; Lewis, *Tribes of the Columbia Valley*, passim; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 61 f.

[73] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, p. 307.

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In the Plains the coup is one of a number of graded war honors of a highly arbitrary and formal sort. Sometimes the term coup is applied to any war honor of the series; in more limited usage it is applied to the act of touching with the hand, or with an object held in the hand, some portion of the body of an enemy.[74] Other commonly recognized war honors include killing, scalping, and stealing a horse.

All of these, and others, are found in the Plateau. The Kutenai and Flathead grade war honors, the Umatilla do not. The same honor may be counted on a single enemy by two warriors in succession; the second is recognized by all tribes to be equal in value to the first. In addition, the Flathead alone admit four such honors in succession, but the second pair is of less value than the first. This practice is associated with an institution of "war brothers;" the individuals paired in counting honors thereby establish this ceremonial friendship.[75] The following honors are recognized by the three Plateau tribes: coup upon living enemy, killing, taking enemy's bow, stealing enemy's horse. Scalping is practiced by the Umatilla and Flathead, not Kutenai. The latter substitutes cutting the enemy's hair. Coup may be counted upon the slain enemy by Kutenai and Flathead, not Umatilla. Untethering an enemy's horse receives honor among Umatilla and Flathead.

Only the Flathead use coup sticks for striking and for recording honors. The Umatilla make marks on blankets or horses. The Kutenai keep records but the method is uncertain.

The Plains practice of limiting honors to either two or four specifically defined acts is not seen in the Plateau. Regarding successive counting by various warriors, two and four as above, are Plains patterns, but neither is found near the Plateau. The adjacent Crow and Blackfoot recognize one only. The Crow set apart certain acts of unusual bravery as ungraded but superior to any on the scale.[76] The Kutenai do likewise, in this case with respect to one act, that of killing the enemy chief unaided.

Within the Plains itself the distribution of war honor details is irregular. This, and adjacent Plateau irregularity, are probably the result of the unusual mobility made possible by the horse, and consequent widespread travel and intercourse.

[74] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 426–30.
[75] Cf. Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 65.
[76] Smith, *loc. cit.*

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[45]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[46]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[47]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[45] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[47] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

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While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

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The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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The picture drawn here, then, will refer strictly to aboriginal conditions as they existed around 1850. Where information furnished referred to a somewhat later period it may safely be assumed that little movement had occurred during the intervening period.

It is of especial importance that this date be emphasized with regard to the data here presented for the territorial distribution may have been very different a hundred years earlier, due to native movements uninfluenced by direct contact with whites.[4]

Such static limitation is set upon this paper for several reasons. Most important is the notorious unreliability of native verbal traditions when they refer to history a few generations or more removed.[5] Such data, through weighting, balancing, and comparing, may prove of value for a theoretical discussion or a hypothetical reconstruction[6] but is of little worth for a purely factual paper. Secondly, though a tremendous bulk of material bearing on the subjects under consideration is available from the records of early explorers, traders, and missionaries, it is of little use for supplementing field data gathered today because of the temporal discrepancy. Moreover, such early records are of unequal reliability and often are extremely vague in defining areas and identifying locations. Also, some records are relatively full while others contain but occasional references pertinent to a study of territorial distributions. But perhaps the greatest difficulty grows out of the variations in recording native place and group names. It is

[4]James A. Teit, "The Middle Columbia Salish (ed. by Franz Boas," in *University of Washington Publications in Anthropology* (Seattle, 1928), II, 83-128, considers at some length the possibility of a northward movement of Sahaptin-speaking peoples (Klikitat, Yakima?) from their postulated former habitat south of the Columbia river, carrying them into southern Washington and displacing the Salish-speaking peoples presumed to have occupied the area formerly.

I can not concur in the positive judgements drawn by Teit. Though some of the material in the present paper might be used in support of such a theory (e.g., Salish names for Kittitas villages nos. 10 and 11), yet my contact with these peoples has led me to become more and more skeptical of Teit's conclusions. I hope to pursue this particular problem further and present the evidence, with whatever conclusions may appear justified, in a future paper.

[5]Cf. Robert H. Lowie, "Oral Tradition and History," in *American Anthropologist* n.s., XVII, 597.

[6]See Leslie Spier, "Tribal Distribution in Southwestern Oregon," in *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XXVIII, 358-65; and Joel V. Berreman, "Tribal Distribution in Oregon," thesis, University of Oregon, 1933.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27]Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28]See map, fig. 2.
[29]Kroeber, 14.
[30]See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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river. Southerly of the S. W. Mountains, and in Spring and summer on the heads of the *To-war-ne-hi-ooks* [Deschutes], *La Page* [John Day], *You-ma-tal-aw* [Umatilla], and *Wal-lar-wal-lar* [Walla Walla] rivers, and more abundantly at the falls of the Towarnehiooks, for the purpose of fishing.[84]

Perhaps "the heads" of these rivers merely means the mountain highlands. But the reference to the Multnomah (Willamette) River is even more difficult to accept since it lies well to the west of the Cascade Mountains. Another statement mentions "Sho-Sho-ne's on the Multnomah and its waters, the residence of them is not well known to us."[85] This quotation carries its own criticism. Furthermore, the journal entry on which this notation is based reads: "Some of them informed us that they had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians who inhabit the upper part of the Multnomah river to the S. E. of them."[86] The reference here is to the ambiguous "Snake," not Shoshone, and the Multnomah is said to be southeast whereas actually it is to the southwest. It is quite possible that the enemy was the Molale.

EVIDENCE OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

Sahaptin informants declare that from time immemorial conflict has existed with the Shoshoneans. The Tenino and the Umatilla were allied against the Paiute, the Umatilla and Cayuse against the Paiute and Bannock, and the Cayuse and Nez Percé against the Bannock and Shoshone. But the Sahaptin tribes never questioned the right of the enemy to the territory occupied in the eighteenth century. Neither side ever attempted to wrest *territory* from the other. Marauding parties carried away moveable property, but the main object of warfare was the attainment of glory. A man's principal opportunity to raise his status was through valor in warfare. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, and Nez Percé, at least, the typical Plains pattern of counting coup was found and a type of chieftainship was awarded on this basis. In these contests the Shoshoneans often pushed as far north as the Columbia River, forcing the Umatilla sometimes to take temporary refuge on Blalock Island or the north bank of the river. But the invaders never remained long and in no case established permanent camps. Any attempt would doubtless have resulted in failure, for the balance of power was at all times very even and the Sahaptins were on home ground.

After the turn of the century this balance began to shift in favor of the northerners. The acquisition of the horse and the introduction of new weapons by the whites were undoubtedly contributing factors. These superior weapons were available to the residents along the Columbia trade

[84] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 118. [85] *Idem*, Vol. 6, p. 119. [86] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282.

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

route in much greater quantities than to their more isolated enemies. At the same time motives were introduced for territorial expansion. The encroachments of the whites and the depletion of game near the river may be mentioned. Several decisive battles were fought in Shoshonean territory in which the Sahaptins were the victors. Thereafter the Shoshoneans were pushed farther and farther southward and finally held beyond the boundary indicated above for the nineteenth century.

The territory thus acquired was valuable for hunting and gathering but less suitable for permanent settlements. Its control added economic security and widened the span between the large Sahaptin villages and the enemy. No vital change in habitat and economy was involved, as would have been the case if Shoshoneans had attempted to settle the Columbia Valley.

The tribal movements thus indicated are in no sense momentous, but they are in exactly the opposite direction to those reported by James A. Teit[37] and accepted and amplified by Joel V. Berreman.[38] Without analyzing or criticizing the sources of Teit's information, I wish to examine some of the contentions where they are contradictory to data presented above.

Teit assumes that a Salishan tribe called the Nekɛteme'uɣ formerly resided at the Dalles.[39] Despite persistent inquiry among the peoples along the Columbia I have failed to find anyone who had ever heard of such a tribe or of any Salish speaking group in that vicinity. However, Kashkash suggested a possible explanation for the confusion. A Umatilla term, nikátimiu'x, is commonly applied to an alien people; it means "persons who do not act sensibly."

A similar confusion may account for Mooney's contention that a Shoshonean tribe, the Lohim, occupied a portion of Willow Creek in Umatilla territory until as late as 1870.[40] Elderly Umatillas today deny that Shoshoneans ever lived on Willow Creek, but explain that laxi'am means "stupid, untrustworthy people." The term was often applied to the Yakima.

Berreman notes that

> The Henry-Thompson journals report a band of "Scietogas" in the Willamette Valley, who were said to have dwelt west of the Nez Percé. This name has been sometimes considered that of a Snake band, but the description he gives of the party leaves their identity uncertain.[41]

The "Scietogas" were more probably Sahaptin, since Shoshonean speakers designate Sahaptins collectively as sa'idoka, "white-tailed deer eaters."

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[37] Teit, *The Middle Columbia Salish*, pp. 89–108.
[38] Berreman, *Tribal Distribution in Oregon*.
[39] Teit, *loc. cit.* [40] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 743. [41] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

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Teit writes of a Salish group called Tiā'kɛtuɣ or Stia'kɛtɛmuɣ being carried by the assumed migrations to the mouth of the Yakima River.[43] Umatilla, Kittitas, and Wenatchi informants independently interpreted these terms in the same way. Sahaptin forms are ıstiaxá' (Umatilla) and stiala'ma (Kittitas); the reference is to a semi-mythical people "from the north, who appear at night in heavy fur clothing and steal things, then disappear before daylight." All denied that the terms designated a tribe.

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In this connection Teit states that

> The Sanpoil have a name Nai'akutchɛn or .nia'qɛtcɛn, which appears to have been applied to all the Indians living along the Columbia River from the Wenatchi to near The Dalles. . . . This name seems to be the same as that of the tribe called Akai-chie by Hunt, who found them inhabiting the country around the mouth of the Umatilla River, January, 1812.[44]

Rather, Akai-chie seems to be a'kaitci, "people who eat salmon," a Bannock word used for Sahaptins, specifically the Tenino, but perhaps also others in the salmon area.

A part of the Columbia River assigned by Teit to the Salish is the Priest Rapids-White Bluffs regions, now occupied by the Wanapam. Of all Sahaptin groups this is today the most conservative. The survivors occupy the ancient village at Priest Rapids, having stubbornly refused to go upon a reservation. They contend that this has always been the home of their people and that it always shall be.

But the Umatilla are scarcely less emphatic in denying that a Salish tribe ever held the Umatilla Valley, either jointly or exclusively. Teit contends that the valley was occupied by the ·nkee'us;[45] Berreman gives the southern Umatilla territory to the Cayuse.[46]

Fortunately the documentary evidence from Lewis and Clark bears directly upon these problems and proves conclusive in many instances. At every such point the contentions of the natives are supported. The explorers were present in the years 1805–1806. These were critical years, for Teit states that, "The northwesterly movement of the Snake seems to have about reached its height in the early years of last century, probably 1800–1830."[46] Berreman agrees: "This was the high water mark of Snake invasions, and appears to have been reached sometime between 1800 and 1820."[47] Thus the voluminous records of the explorers should contain manifold references to such movements, had they existed. But actually, not one unequivocal statement of such nature is to be found. The statement most often quoted reads: "No Indians reside on the S. W. side of this river for

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[43] Teit, *op. cit.*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[44] *Idem*, pp. 94, 102 f.
[45] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
[46] *Idem*, p. 94.
[47] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
[48] Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

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fear (as we were informed) of the Snake Indians, who are at war with the tribes on this river." But this further sentence, *in the same paragraph*, is neglected: "They [of the Columbia River] go to war to their [Snake] first villages in 12 days."[48] In other words, the local Sahaptins (Tenino) were the aggressors in this struggle with sufficient initiative to travel twelve days to the south in order to meet the enemy. A few miles downriver, at The Dalles (city), the distance to the enemy is estimated as four days' march, much less but yet considerable. A recent battle is mentioned, presumably conducted on Shoshonean ground.[49] These notations were made by the explorers on the downriver trip. Upon their return the following year they found the Indians of the vicinity still on the offensive: "They had latterly returned from the war excurtion against the Snake Indians. . . . They had been fortunate in the expedition and had taken from their enimies most of the horses which we saw in their possession."[50] Mooney aptly summarizes conditions for this period and later:

> Most of this region, on the south or Oregon side of the Columbia, was formerly held by Shoshonean tribes of Paiute connection, which have been dispossessed by the Shahaptian tribes and driven farther back to the south. . . . The Tenino themselves conquered the present Warmsprings reservation from the Snakes. The expulsion was in full progress when Lewis and Clark went down the Columbia in 1805, but had been practically completed when the first treaties were made with these tribes fifty years later.[51]

Teit and Berreman use the term "Snake" as a specific tribal designation, and assume that in so doing they are following native practice. Their entire reconstructions stand or fall upon the validity of this assumption. Yet Sahaptin informants emphatically declare that they never used Snake as a tribal name, and that they are quite unaware of any such tribe. Instead, the term is used collectively for the Shoshone, Bannock, and Paiute. The name came into familiar usage among the whites because it is the exclusive designation in sign language, the symbol being the same as that used for the reptile. In verbal speech specific names are applied to the various groups.

The distances separating the Shoshoneans from the Columbia River, as indicated in the texts and maps of Lewis and Clark, demonstrate that they were at least as far south in 1805 as during the early distribution outlined above.[52] And yet this is the period at which Teit and Berreman contend

[48] Thwaites, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 149. See also *idem*, Vol. 3, p. 168.
[49] *Idem*, Vol. 3, p. 163.
[50] *Idem*, Vol. 4, p. 282. See also above.
[51] Mooney, *op. cit.*, p. 742.
[52] Except perhaps in the region of the Blue Mountains. See above.

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the "Snake" invasions reached the "high water mark." Teit summarizes his reconstruction of antecedent events:

> The pressure of the Snake seems to have resulted, first, in a displacement of Shahaptian by them; second, in a displacement of Waiilatpuan tribes [the Sahaptin Cayuse and Molale] either by Shahaptian or Snake or both; third, in a displacement of Salish tribes by Shahaptian and Waiilatpuan, but chiefly by the former.[85]

The last of these conditions, at least, if fulfilled could not have failed to result in profound chaos at the point of juncture, to set up reverberations reaching far northward into Washington, and to create deep seated enmities between Sahaptin and Salish, as well as between Cayuse and other Sahaptins. But Lewis and Clark saw nothing of chaos on the river. They demonstrated that conditions were stable in 1805 in all of eastern Washington, since virtually no change in either Sahaptin or Salish distributions took place subsequently. They found the Cayuse and other Sahaptins, not engaged in bitter conflict, but entirely friendly, as they are to this day. They found the Nez Percé and Palus enjoying peaceful trading relations with the Salish Coeur d'Alene, not attempting to seize their homelands. They observed no instance of Sahaptin-Salish enmity, thus supporting the contention of natives today that warfare between the two has never been known.[86]

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NOTES ON THE TENINO, MOLALA, AND PAIUTE OF OREGON

The following notes are offered by way of comment upon the tribal distributions in central Oregon recently compiled by J. V. Berreman.[87] The information and inferences given below are based upon field work by the author among the Tenino on the Warmsprings Reservation in the summers of 1934 and 1935.

THE TENINO

The Tenino or Warmsprings Sahaptin occupied the banks of the Columbia River between the Upper Chinook (Wasco and Wishram) on the west and the Umatilla on the east, as well as the lower reaches of the Deschutes

[85] Teit, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[86] Not only were tribal locations stable in the area under assumed pressure, but particular families of the "intrusive" Sahaptin have lived in particular villages for as long as five generations (see footnote 5; Morrison's f's f's m was born near Kittitas, Wash., at least as early as 1810).

[87] *Tribal Distribution in Oregon.*

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-37) 1938 Plateau

131* slope of Mt Hood. They sometimes hunted to the south, in the region of
173 Simnasho, but this was really Paiute territory. The Molala and Paiute were
361 hostile, although the Tenino preserve no tradition of particular wars be-
tween the two tribes.

THE PAIUTE

The country south of the Molala, including the berrying grounds around Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson and the entire area of the present Warmsprings Reservation, has been Paiute territory, say the Tenino, from time immemorial. In this region the Paiute formerly had at least three winter sites: la'xwaixt wanai'tat or modern Hot Springs, cctai'kt or modern Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi on Seekseekwa Creek. The rich root-gathering country around Shaniko was also exploited by the Paiute. On the John Day River the Paiute came in contact with the John Day sub-tribe of the Tenino. The lower middle reaches of this river, directly east of the Molala country, seem always to have been used to some extent by the John Day, although they admit that the country properly belonged to the Paiute.

THE DISPLACEMENT OF THE MOLALA

131* Sometime during the decade 1810–1820, or within a very few years
173 thereof, the Molala were driven out of their territory by the Tenino. A cir-
721 cumstantial account of this Tenino-Molala war was obtained from in-
formant Johnnie Quinn, who had heard the story as a youngster from his grandfather, an actual participant as a young man of nineteen or twenty. The approximate date may be worked out from the fact that, according to agency records, Quinn was born about 1853 and the corroborative evidence that he still retains memories of pre-reservation days. The war began with an act of aggression by the Tenino proper, the Wayam and John Day sub-tribes not participating. Coveting the productive fishing site of the Molala at Sherar's Bridge, the Tenino moved in early one spring before the Molala had left their winter village. We are not concerned here with the details of how the Tenino met the Molala attack, rescued their leader when he was wounded in the knee with an arrow, and eventually put the enemy to flight. The important fact is that the Molala were driven in a body westward across the Cascade Range, whence they have never since returned, and that their territory and villages were taken over by a group of Tenino colonists who eventually came to form the Tygh sub-tribe.

TENINO ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PAIUTE

Having displaced the Molala, the Tenino began to drive farther southward against the Paiute. Gradually, in part through slave raids but mainly through the ruthless extermination of Paiute groups encountered on hunt-

4: Ray et al E-5 (1934-47) 1938 Plateau

ing expeditions, the Tenino advanced ever deeper into the territory of their traditional foes. By the time of the establishment of the Warmsprings Reservation they had expelled the Paiute from the berrying grounds near Ollalie Butte and Mt Jefferson, from the wintering places at Hot Springs, Warmsprings, and siksi'kwi, from the root-gathering grounds around Shaniko, and from the entire John Day Valley almost as far south as the great bend of that river. Hunting expeditions ranged still deeper into Paiute territory.

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POST-RESERVATION PAIUTE REPRISALS

By 1857, most of the Tenino were settled on the Warmsprings Reservation, which was, as the Tenino are still fully aware, carved entirely out of territory won from the Paiute and properly belonging to the latter. The tables were now turned. The Tenino villages were no longer remote from the Paiute centers of population but were within striking distance. Their inhabitants were scattered on homesteads which the government was trying to teach them to farm. The presence of livestock, provided in large part by the government, offered a constant temptation to plunder. The Paiute quickly seized the opportunity for retaliation against their previously victorious foe. Raid followed raid for years after the establishment of the reservation, as a few selections from letters examined by the author in the Warmsprings archives will show:

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Jan. 26, 1858, from A. P. Dennison, Indian agent, to General I. W. Nesmith: "the Snake or Sho-sho-nie [i.e., Paiute] tribe of Indians . . . have lately made several attacks upon other tribes of Indians in the vicinity of John Days River killing several and stealing their Horses . . . ."

July 14, 1859, from Dennison to Edward P. Geary, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Portland, reports 150 head of stock lost in Paiute raids of that year.

Aug. 10, 1859, from Dr Fitch, reservation doctor, to Captain Black at Fort Dalles, reports a raid by 250 Paiute resulting in the seizure of 150 horses and 40 cattle, the massacre of one white man and 13 Indian women and children, and his own capture and escape with four others.

Sept. 28, 1860, from Dennison to Geary, reports the loss of 40 horses in a Paiute raid.

Oct. 16, 1861, from William Logan, Indian agent, to Captain Whittlesey at Fort Dalles, reports a Paiute raid in which 100 cattle were taken and two men slain.

Similar reports continue for several years. This early post-reservation period with its record of almost continual Paiute raids is worth reporting for two reasons; first, because it is the only period of successful Paiute aggression of which the Tenino preserve any recollection and, second, because it probably bequeathed to the next generation an exaggerated impression of

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the danger which the Paiute constituted to the more settled tribes of the Columbia region at an earlier date.

CRITICISM OF TEIT'S HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

In view of the foregoing facts and of others to be summarized below, the reconstruction of tribal movements in central Oregon advanced by Teit and followed by Berreman seems to the present writer to be almost wholly without foundation.

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Teit's sources, in the first place, are so weak as to be undeserving of credit. He derived his information, he tells us, from three informants: a white sub-agent at Nespelem, an Interior Salish interpreter with one-quarter French blood, and a mixed Polynesian-Nisqually who was a government official for several years at Warmsprings. Such sources would scarcely seem to constitute an adequate basis for a definitive reconstruction of the history of the Tenino, Molala, and Paiute.

Teit's theory, in the second place, is uncorroborated by subsequent field workers in central Oregon. Except for the approximate location of the Molala, the present writer found not a shred of support for any part of Teit's theory in the course of his work among the Tenino, and he understands from personal communications from Verne F. Ray, Melville Jacobs, and Beatrice Blyth that they have had no greater success in this respect among the Umatilla, Molala, and the Oregon Paiute respectively.

Teit's theory, in the third place, is specifically contradicted at nearly every point by the author's information from the Tenino, as may be clearly seen by presenting the theory and conflicting evidence in parallel columns:

Teit	*Tenino*
1. In the early eighteenth century both banks of the Columbia River above The Dalles were occupied by Interior Salishan tribes.	1. No recollection or tradition of any Salishan people settled in this region; no knowledge of the Nekutameux.
2. South of the Salish, in a band from the Cascade Range to the Blue Mountains, dwelt the Waiilatpuan tribes—the Molala west of the Deschutes River, the Cayuse to the east.	2. Corroborated, at least for the Molala.
3. At that time there were no Sahaptin tribes in the present state of Washington.	3. No scrap of tradition that the Washington Sahaptin ever lived far from their present habitat.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

224 by skillful manipulations of a decoy animal; or the frightened deer are driven into an ambush by converging lines of bright-colored rags so placed in the bushes as to represent men. Kane states that about the Arrow Lakes hunting dogs are trained to follow the deer and to bring back the game to their masters even from very long distances. Deer are also pursued in the winter on snow-shoes, and in deep snow often knocked down with clubs. Bear and beaver are trapped in some places; and, [223] especially about the northern lakes and marshes, wild fowl are very abundant, and help materially to eke out the supply of native food.[166]

222 Their natural improvidence, or an occasional unlucky hunting or fishing season, often reduces them to want, and in such case the resort is to roots, berries, and mosses, several varieties of which are also gathered and laid up

[166] The Shushwaps formerly crossed the mountains to the Assiniboine territory. The Okanagans when hunting wear wolf or bear skin caps; there is no bird or beast whose voice they cannot imitate. War and hunting were the Nez Percé occupation; cross the mountains for buffalo. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 148, 219, 227–8, 305. The chief game of the Nez Percés is the deer, 'and whenever the ground will permit, the favourite hunt is on horseback.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 555. The Salish live by the chase, on elk, moose, deer, big-horn and bears; make two trips annually, spring to fall, and fall to mid-winter, across the mountains, accompanied by other nations. The Pend d'Oreilles hunt deer in the snow with clubs; have distinct localities for hunting each kind of game. Nez Percés, Flatheads, Coeurs d'Alène, Spokanes, Pend d'Oreilles, etc., hunt together. Yakimas formerly joined the Flatheads in eastern hunt. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–8, 212–15, 218, 225–6. 'Two hunts annually across the mountains—one in April, for the bulls, from which they return in June and July; and another, after about a month's recruit, to kill cows, which have by that time become fat.' *Stevens, Gibbs, and Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 415, 408, 296–7, vol. xii., p. 134. Kootenais live by the chase principally. *Hutchins*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1863, p. 455. Spokanes rather indolent in hunting; hunting deer by fire. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 197, vol. ii., pp. 46–7. The Kootenais 'seldom hunt;' there is not much to shoot except wild fowl in fall. Trap beaver and carriboeuf on a tributary of the Kootanie River. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 10, 15, 73. Flatheads 'follow the buffalo upon the headwaters of Clarke and Salmon rivers.' Nez Percé women accompany the men to the buffalo-hunt. *Parker's Explor. Tour.*, pp. 107, 311. Kootenais cross the mountains for buffalo. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 297. Coeurs d'Alène ditto. *Mullan's Rept.*, p. 49. Half of the Nez Percés 'usually make a trip to the buffalo country for three months.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 494. Shushwaps 'live by hunting the bighorns, mountain goats, and marmots.' *Milton and Cheadle's N. W. Pass.*, p. 242. Buffalo never pass to west of the Rocky Mountains. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., p. 179; *Kane's Wand.*, p. 328; *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31, 45, 144–5; *Ind. Life*, pp. 23–4, 34–41; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 268–9; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. x., 1821, pp. 77–82, 87; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, tom. xii., pp. 25, 35–8; *José*, in *Id.*, tom. cxiii., 1849, pp. 334–40.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

knives and tomahawks have generally taken the place of such native weapons as these natives may have used against their foes originally. Only the bow and arrow have survived intercourse with white men, and no other native weapon is described, except one peculiar to the Okanagans,—a kind of Indian slung-shot. This is a small cylindrical ruler of hard wood, covered with raw hide, which at one end forms a small bag and holds a round stone as large as a goose-egg; the other end of the weapon is tied to the wrist. Arrow-shafts are of hard wood, carefully straightened by rolling between two blocks, fitted by means of sinews with stone or flint heads at one end, and pinnated with feathers at the other. The most elastic woods are chosen for the bow, and its force is augmented by tendons glued to its back.[169]

The inland families cannot be called a warlike race. Resort to arms for the settlement of their intertribal disputes seems to have been very rare. Yet all are brave warriors when fighting becomes necessary for defense or vengeance against a foreign foe; notably so the Cayuses, Nez Percés, Flatheads and Kootenais. The two former waged both aggressive and defensive warfare against the Snakes of the south; while the latter joined their arms against their common foes, the eastern Blackfeet, who, though their inferiors in bravery, nearly exterminated the Flathead nation by superiority in numbers, and by being the first to obtain the white man's weapons. Departure on a warlike expedition is always preceded by ceremonious preparation, including councils of the wise, great, and old; smoking the pipe, harangues by the chiefs, dances, and a general review, or display of equestrian feats and the manœuvres of battle. The warriors are always mounted; in many tribes white or speck-

[169] The Okanagan weapon is called a *Spampt. Ross' Adven.*, pp. 318–19; *Ll., Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 306–8. 'Ils . . . faire leurs arcs d'un bois très-élastique, ou de la corne du cerf.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 48; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 486; *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 98; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 317; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 106–7, 233; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 216.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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535 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 336; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[65]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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Dances Associated with War

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The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

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their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[80] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[81] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[80] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[81] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

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A victory dance deserving of the name is found only in parts of the American Plateau, and among the Kutenai. Informal gatherings occur among the Shuswap and Carrier, and perhaps others, upon the return of a victorious war party, but these are scarcely more than spontaneous expressions of joy. It is interesting that the Shuswap treat the scalp as a guardian spirit and the so-called scalp dance is a simple religious ritual. "It seems that in the scalp dance the dead warrior was addressed in nearly the same manner as a killed bear is" in the bear ceremony, Teit observes.

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In the American Plateau two historic levels can be seen in the victory ceremony. One level is quite late in time and the ceremony is wholly Plainslike in character. The dance of the earlier period is more typical of the Plateau, but coastal influences are perceptible. This earlier dance is found among the Wishram, Klamath, and Coeur d'Alêne; and, in modified form, the Kalispel. In the time of Alexander Ross (*circa* 1810) the Nez Percé were participating in it. Perhaps they had already adopted the Plains dance and the two existed side by side, as was the case with the Coeur d'Alêne. However it was not long before the Plains dance became the exclusive form with both, as with the Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai.

The Wishram victory dance

> took place at night, dancing until the early dawn. The scalps and other human trophies were hung on short poles, six feet in length. Women painted red. The dancers formed a ring, or two or three concentrically, going around as they sang. Those holding scalps had places in the inside ring. Widows of men killed in the battle were placed within the circling dancers, where they mourned, and taking a scalp in each hand beat them on the ground. Thus they had revenge.[32]

No mention is made of captives participating in this dance, but they play an important role in the similar dance of the Klamath.

> The captives are sometimes made to dance inside the circle with the same step; forced to rejoice over their own defeat. . . . They are whipped with the scalp sticks as they dance.[33]

Similarly, among the Nez Percé the captives are made to dance and are severely maltreated by the women. The captives themselves must carry the scalps on poles. The concentric circles are absent here, be-

[32] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 232.
[33] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 34.

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coming parallel lines with the captives between two rows of women, and outside of them rows of men. The Coeur d'Alêne dance was identical, according to Teit.[94]

Several points of contrast with the Plains-type dance may be anticipated. The Plateau type is commonly held at night, though this was not true of the Nez Percé, perhaps because of early Plains influence. In the latter area the dance is typically a daytime affair. Both men and women dance in the Plateau ceremony, but in the Plains-like ritual only the women dance and only the men sing and drum. The Plateau dance is held whether deaths have been suffered or not, and perhaps even when victory is problematical. Furthermore, Klamath women begin the dance by crying, even though no Klamath have been killed. In the Plains, and in Plains-like dances in the Plateau, either of these practices would be inconceivable. Of the Plains dance, Smith asserts:

> Inevitably, the victory dances expressed the group's feeling of triumph and superiority They were occasions of "wild rejoicings," festivities "to which all came and enjoyed themselves," celebrations of "uninhibited triumph" in which all was "individualism, all exultation and triumph."[95]

Compare with this the Klamath attitude:

> quiet, decorous conduct is expected of those who do not dance, else they would be shot, for at this time the dancers are violent. . . . They fast or at least eat no meat or fish. This is the tabu that the Klamath impose *during every crisis*.[96]

Obviously the one ceremony is conceived and executed in a very different spirit from the other.

Teit provides a description of the Coeur d'Alêne victory dance of the Plains type which well exemplifies that of the general area (Kutenai, Flathead, Nez Percé?, Umatilla?).

> The people assembled in an open space, or, if it was cold weather, in the large dance house. After a short dance by the warriors, into which were introduced actions and gestures in imitation of the experiences of the war party, the war chief related the events of the expedition. He was followed by the warriors who had taken scalps or done deeds of valor, such as counting coup, or being the first to approach close to the enemy. Each recounted his particular exploits and explained in detail the manner in which each enemy had been

[94] Ross, *Fur Hunters*, Vol. 1, pp. 310 f.; cf. Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 266; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 190.

[95] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 451.

[96] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 33. Italics mine.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[87]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[88]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[89]

[87] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[88] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[89] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

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[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Prisoners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

[176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 237. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 343–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 108; *Jouet*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxxiii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 320. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

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[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf 825 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 766 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle.....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

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The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of disease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following

[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

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Shamanistic specialization of function may be divided into three categories. First, specific powers spiritually bestowed; that is, the guardian spirit of the shaman may specifically present him with the ability to cure certain types of disease with especial ease and certainty. This form of specialization is found among a block of peoples on the western border of the American Plateau (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino).[52] In all of these cases, except possibly the Tenino, specialization is supplementary to general practice. Again on the eastern border bestowed specialities appear (Kalispel, Flathead). The second type is specialization by reputation: this is the result of consistent success by a shaman in the treatment of a particular type of disease. It has nothing to do with a practitioner's spirit power as such; it is concerned with actual experience, a pragmatic concept. It is found throughout the Canadian Plateau, including the Chilcotin and Carrier, and minimally among the Sanpoil. The third category is specialization according to strength. Some types of ailment are more difficult to cure than others; stronger doctors are naturally required if success is to be achieved. These stronger shamans are the ones with many guardian spirits, or spirits with intrinsically superior power. Consequently, particular shamans are consistently called for ailments of the more serious type. This specialization according to shaman's strength is found more or less in all groups but especially among the Coeur d'Alêne, Shuswap, and Carrier. The Klamath, Wishram, and Umatilla do not recognize any type of specialization except the last.[53] The distributions in this case do not align as usual. Bestowed specialization quite probably links with the Coast on the west, but the eastern cases are uncertain. The Canadian unit stands out, but the American area is divided. Yet the wholly negative groups in the south are fairly continuous.

CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Plateau concepts of disease causation fall into clear-cut categories. The most common of these emphasizes the familiar idea of intrusion: a foreign element somehow gains entrance into the body and its presence causes illness. This general concept must be subdivided: the intrusive element may be a material object, such as a fragment of stone, a hair, a bit of bone, or an insect; or, in marked contrast, it may be another's

[52] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 162 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, p. 100.

[53] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 108, 123; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 244 ff.

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753 guardian spirit that gains entrance. The latter case may be termed "intrusion of a foreign spirit" but it must be remembered that the spirit involved is invariably a guardian spirit; no spirits outside this category are given attention in the Plateau. Furthermore, the spirit is invariably

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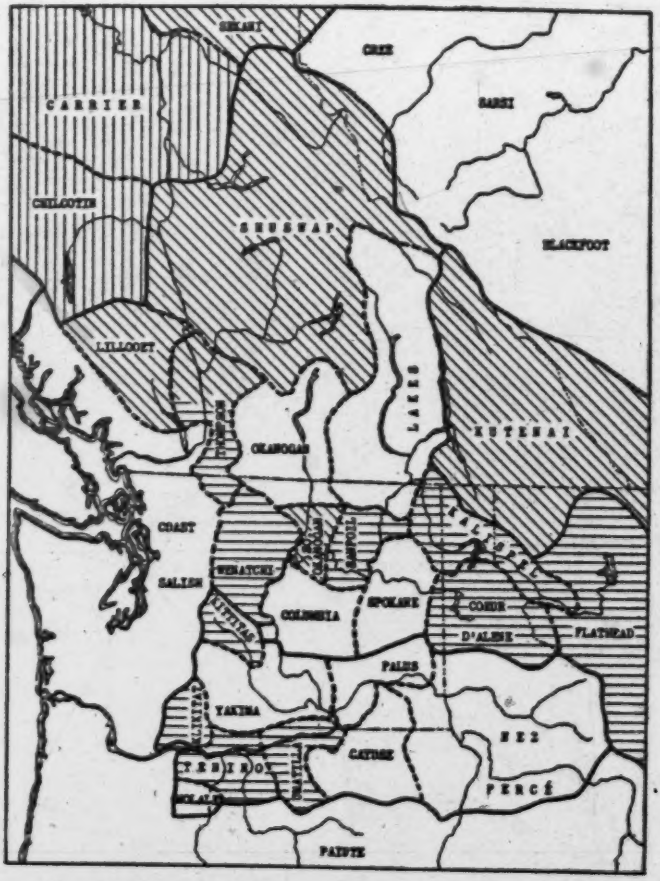

MAP 12. Disease by intrusion. *Vertical hatching:* intrusive object; *diagonal hatching:* spirit causes intrusion of object; *horizontal hatching:* intrusive object, intrusive spirit.

753 non-human in essence; it should not be confused with the human soul.

The *intrusive object* theory is widespread, encompassing the whole of the Plateau, and, of course, a vastly wider area. The more limited distribution of the *intrusive spirit* theory gives it greater significance for

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local relations and history. Its currency has been noted above; it characterizes the American Plateau but is absent to the north. The intrusion of the spirit is commonly, though not invariably, effected by a malignant shaman. Now in the same area there exists the further belief that the intrusion of objects is likewise the work of a shaman in most cases. But this view is not limited to the American Plateau; it is found throughout the area including even the Sekani in the north and possibly the Carrier and Chilcotin. It appears that we are dealing with: (1) an extremely widespread and old concept, intrusive objects, in no way distinguishing the Plateau;[54] (2) the notion of shamanistic ability to influence and control events in the material world by supernatural means, obviously as widespread as is shamanism itself; (3) the association of this talent and the intrusive object theory, again found everywhere in the Plateau, and extending beyond, but not to the degree of the first or second beliefs; (4) the substitution in this complex (3) of the spirit for the object, the spirit being equally subject to control and more effective since it possesses both power and volition. The last is limited to the American Plateau, as indicated above. No great step is involved in the substitution, since, in Plateau practice, the effective agent in object intrusion is always the power of the spirit as directed by the shaman. This identifies spirit intrusion as a typical Plateau trait, a local development probably relatively recent in origin.

The preceding argument runs counter to Clements' reconstructions.[55] It must immediately be noted that the complex which I have called spirit intrusion, for facility of expression, is not the simple element with which Clements is dealing. Even so, the assumptions conflict. "All occurrences [of spirit intrusion] are historically related,"[56] he declares, and nowhere does he suggest a relationship, for any area, between spirit intrusion and object intrusion. Furthermore, his own map and table show no instance of spirit intrusion for any part of the Plateau. Its presence is indicated for Puget Sound and coastal Washington on the basis of Klallam and Lower Chinook data alone. The Klallam information is precise. I have recently been able to substantiate the Lower Chinook case.[57] But Olson does not mention spirit intrusion for

[54] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 210.

[55] *Idem*, pp. 216–25.

[56] *Idem*, p. 242.

[57] Clements bases his assumptions regarding the Chinook upon the free translation of a brief and equivocal segment of text from Boas (*Chinook Texts*, p. 207): "The spirits of the

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753 the Quinault, nor Haeberlin for Puget Sound.[58] The nature of Chinook belief points to diffusion downriver from the Plateau,[59] and it should be added that the isolated Klallam case exactly duplicates Plateau belief.

A second important theory of disease causation held in the Plateau relates to one's own guardian spirit. The dominant form involves loss of the tutelary from one cause or another. These causes fall into three well recognized categories: (1) theft by a malignant shaman; (2) mere wandering away; and (3) desertion because of "mistreatment." The order is that of native emphasis based upon frequency of occurrence. Serious illness is caused by such loss, but proves fatal only after prolonged absence combined with consistent futility of shamanistic efforts to effect return.

In the Canadian Plateau the Lillooet and Lower Thompson appear to be the only groups sharing the guardian spirit loss notion. But to the south it is widespread (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kittitas, Klikitat, Umatilla, Tenino, Wishram[60]) but does not reach the Klamath. Down the Columbia it is found as far as the Lower Chinook. Clearly the American Plateau is the center for this trait, with diffusion occurring to the northwest, and westward along the Columbia.

Intra-areal relations are shown in the incidence of sub-traits. The occurrence of the first, shamanistic theft, is coincidental with that of the general concept. The second, loss by inadvertant wandering, shows a spotty distribution: Lillooet, Kalispel, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Tenino. Deliberate desertion, the third aspect, spreads from northwest to southeast across the central Plateau: Lillooet, Kutenai, Kalispel, Flathead.

Another aspect of personal guardian spirit illness is that associated with the return of one's guardian spirit at maturity or at the time of the winter dance. Among tribes where the guardian spirit is absent from

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seers reach the soul of a sick person. They take it and lift it." The literal translation of the native text reads: "It is reached, his soul, a sick one's. It is taken, it is lifted" (*idem*, p. 198). But Clements quotes, in the same paper, a statement made by Boas at a later time which virtually contradicts Clements' interpretation of the Chinook extract. Boas says: "Belief in obsession is a most characteristic form of belief in the Old World. On the other hand, it seems quite foreign to the beliefs of American tribes. . . . The spirits may *attack* man but they do not *enter* his body" (quoted in Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, p. 188; italics mine).

[58] Olson, *Quinault Indians;* Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound.*

[59] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 78 ff.; Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 370 f.

[60] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244.

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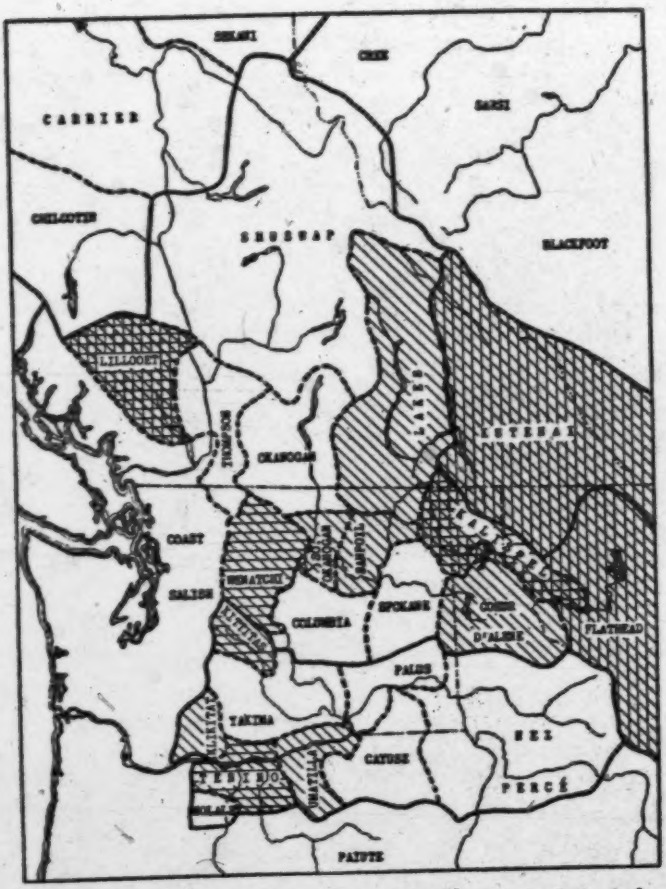
the time of acquisition until maturity, the return is marked by a physical disturbance varying from a feeling of lonesomeness to a severe illness (see above). Sometimes this illness recurs at the opening of each dance season for several winters. Wherever this occurs an obvious link with



MAP 13. Spirit loss illness. *Diagonal hatching:* shamanistic theft; *horizontal hatching:* desertion due to mistreatment; *vertical hatching:* loss by wandering away.

the Coast is indicated, since there spirits are absent except during the winter season and each annual return is accompanied by physical reactions. The Plateau distribution of personal guardian spirit illness is beautifully illustrative of upriver influence along the Columbia. It oc-

753 curs with the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil.[61] The specific coastal pattern, illness each winter, does not extend as far upriver as might be anticipated. It is found among the Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, and probably Wishram.

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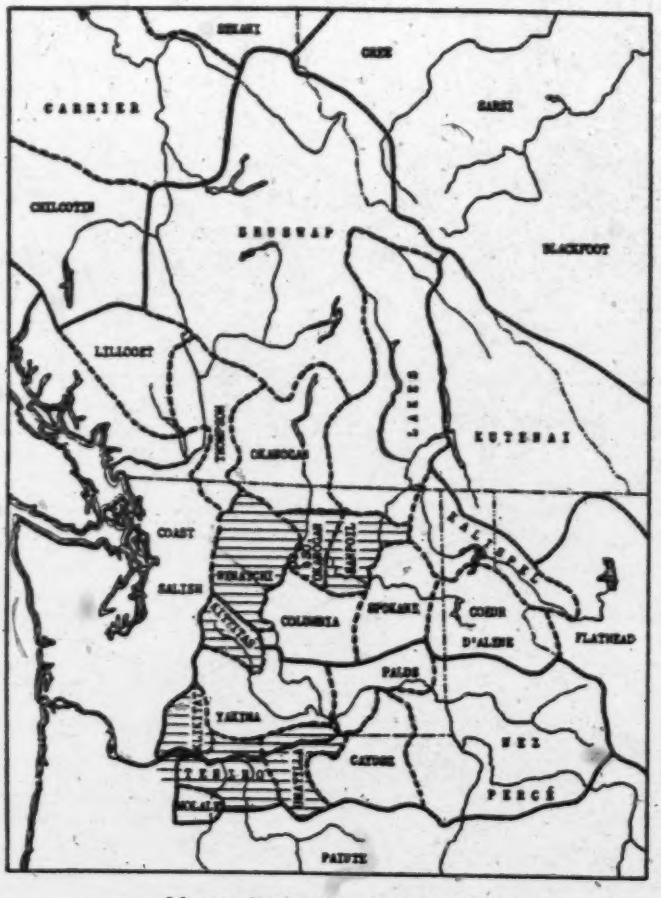

MAP 14. Illness due to spirit return.

753 There is no evidence of a similar diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

Soul loss is the remaining major disease concept of the Plateau. This is the belief that the animating human soul may become temporarily de-

[61] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 145.

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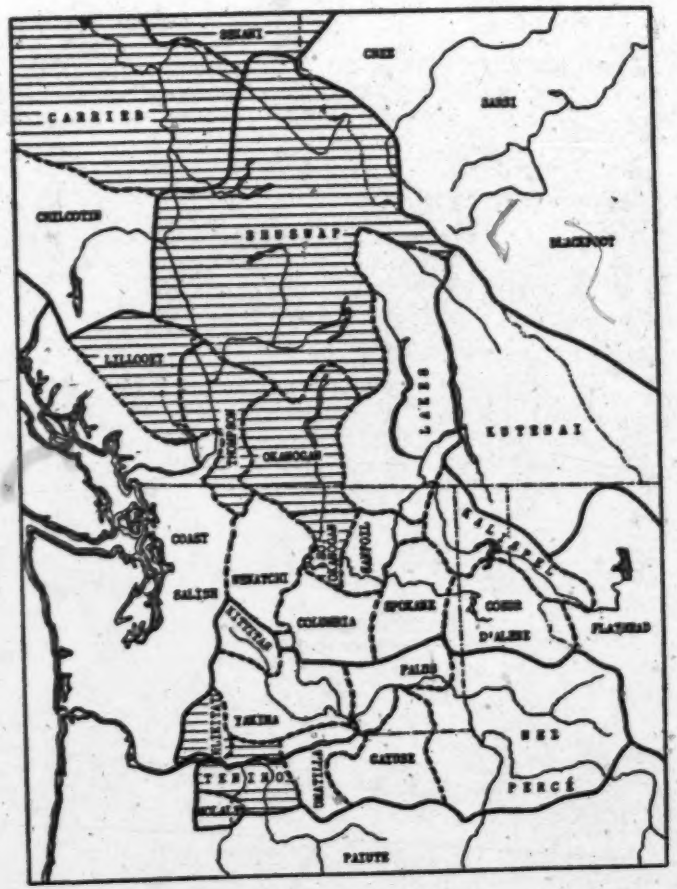
tached from the physical body without death occurring immediately. The accompanying illness is invariably serious—usually the most serious of any ailment—and death comes very soon if the soul is not recovered. Care should be taken not to confuse this concept with guardian



MAP 15. Soul loss.

spirit loss, discussed above. The loose usage of the two terms, spirit and soul, often leads to such confusion, with serious theoretical consequences. Clements falls into this error in his paper on disease concepts.[82] He attributes soul loss to the entire Plateau, which is far from the truth.

[82] Clements, *Primitive Concepts*, pp. 190–201, 225–40.

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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather 825 was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

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The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

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Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

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The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

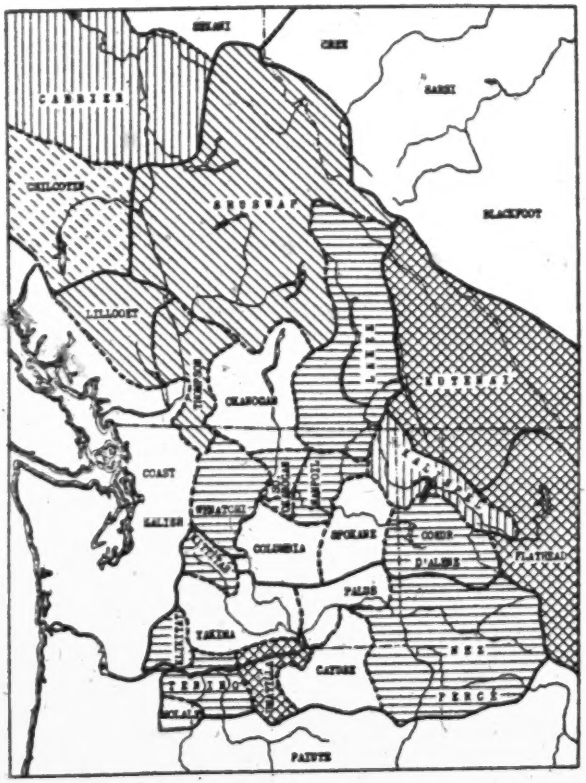
[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genius; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous ones. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

Shaman versus Layman

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An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

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562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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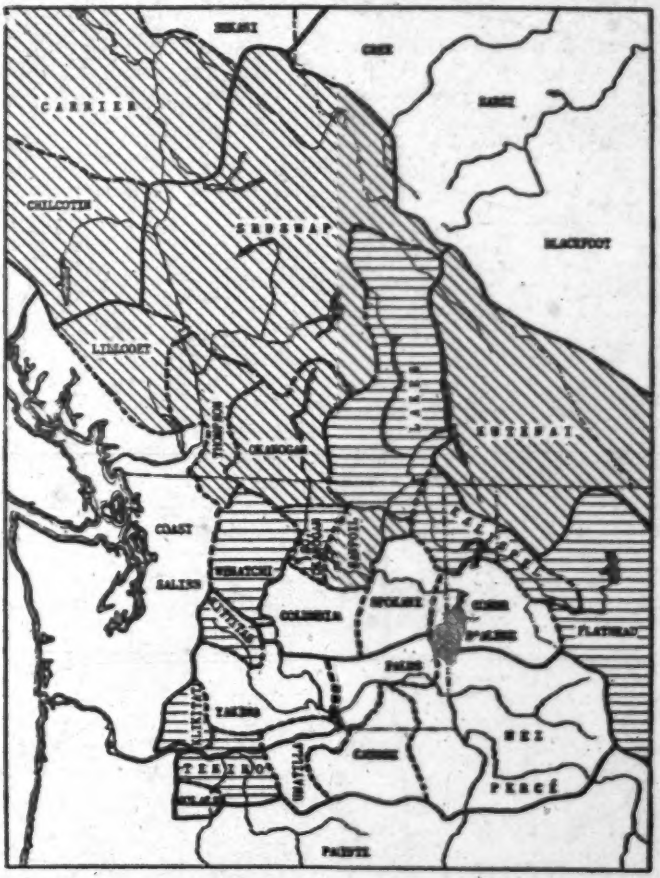

MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching*: special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching*: specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

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Shamanistic specialization of function may be divided into three categories. First, specific powers spiritually bestowed; that is, the guardian spirit of the shaman may specifically present him with the ability to cure certain types of disease with especial ease and certainty. This form of specialization is found among a block of peoples on the western border of the American Plateau (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino).[82] In all of these cases, except possibly the Tenino, specialization is supplementary to general practice. Again on the eastern border bestowed specialities appear (Kalispel, Flathead). The second type is specialization by reputation: this is the result of consistent success by a shaman in the treatment of a particular type of disease. It has nothing to do with a practitioner's spirit power as such; it is concerned with actual experience, a pragmatic concept. It is found throughout the Canadian Plateau, including the Chilcotin and Carrier, and minimally among the Sanpoil. The third category is specialization according to strength. Some types of ailment are more difficult to cure than others; stronger doctors are naturally required if success is to be achieved. These stronger shamans are the ones with many guardian spirits, or spirits with intrinsically superior power. Consequently, particular shamans are consistently called for ailments of the more serious type. This specialization according to shaman's strength is found more or less in all groups but especially among the Coeur d'Alêne, Shuswap, and Carrier. The Klamath, Wishram, and Umatilla do not recognize any type of specialization except the last.[83] The distributions in this case do not align as usual. Bestowed specialization quite probably links with the Coast on the west, but the eastern cases are uncertain. The Canadian unit stands out, but the American area is divided. Yet the wholly negative groups in the south are fairly continuous.

CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Plateau concepts of disease causation fall into clear-cut categories. The most common of these emphasizes the familiar idea of intrusion: a foreign element somehow gains entrance into the body and its presence causes illness. This general concept must be subdivided: the intrusive element may be a material object, such as a fragment of stone, a hair, a bit of bone, or an insect; or, in marked contrast, it may be another's

[82] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 162 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, p. 100.

[83] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 108, 123; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 244 ff.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.] To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[96] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[96] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes′sakkĭd′ is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man′idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes′sakkĭd′, and through him, with numerous other malevolent man′idōs, especially the Animiki′, or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkid' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

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The Flathead Spirit Dance

Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

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The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'ł, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛłwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ'') or a layman (q̇le·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion that has been noted on the coast.[150] Steam baths are universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but sometimes for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left

[150] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourn- 193 ing friends and avengers. One motive of the Cayuses 757 in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

from the part supposed to be affected. The spectators pound with their sticks, and all, including doctor, and often the patient in spite of himself, keep up a continual song or yell. There is, however, some method in this madness, and when the routine is completed it is again begun, and thus repeated for several hours each day until the case is decided. In many nations the doctor finally extracts the spirit, in the form of a small bone or other object, from the patient's body or mouth by some trick of legerdemain, and this once effected, he assures the surrounding friends that the tormentor having been thus removed, recovery must soon follow.[193]

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Pac. R. R. Rept., vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

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164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourn- 173 ing friends and avengers. One motive of the Cayuses 757 in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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164 756 *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[113] Related practices are found in California.

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; disposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively.

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[113] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

764 is available, horses are tethered on top of the fresh grave to eradicate all indications of the burial. Grave markers naturally are not used by them. In other parts of the southern Plateau, erect sticks or simple posts are used to indicate the location. The Umatilla do not follow this prac-

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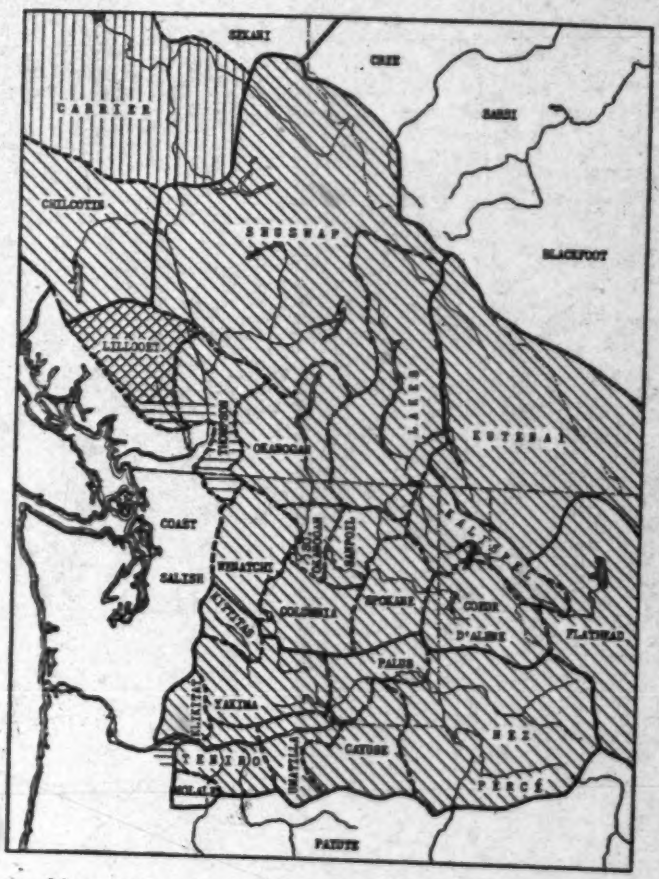

MAP 6. Disposal of the dead: dominant forms. *Vertical hatching:* cremation; *cross hatching:* basket burial and inhumation; *horizontal hatching:* box or house burial; *diagonal hatching:* inhumation.

764 tice but use a large rock instead. The Kutenai place a pole on the ground on each side of the mound left after filling the grave. In other parts of the Canadian Plateau more elaborate grave markers are used.

Over most graves [of the Upper Thompson] were erected conical huts

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made of poles covered with bark or with fir-branches. Others, those belonging to the richer people, had conical tents made of skins or mats put over them. Poles were also erected at many graves, and on these were suspended many of the articles belonging to the dead person. The poles always had the bark peeled off, and were painted. . . . On many graves, particularly in the country near Lytton, the canoe of the deceased was placed bottom side up. On some graves were wooden figures almost life size, carved as nearly as possible in the likeness of the deceased person, whether man or woman. The Indians say that a long time ago grave figures were not used by the Upper Thompsons, and that this custom was borrowed from the lower division,[114]

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which in turn, it may be added, received it from the people of the lower Fraser River. The Shuswap use shelters similar to those described, but do not place canoes or carved posts on graves. The Upper Lillooet build a framework of four poles from which are suspended the belongings of the deceased.

In general very little attention is given to lining the grave, although poles or bark may sometimes be used for the purpose. Of the Flathead, however, Turney-High writes,

> They say the oldest method was to prepare a floor of flat stone slabs when these could be had. A wall of such stones was then built up higher than the depth of the corpse. A houselike structure was then prepared to protect his head and feet. Saplings were laid over this stone structure and a parfleche stretched over them before the grave was filled in.[115]

Alternative, simpler methods are also described.

The grave is prepared for flexed or extended burial according to usage. In the north central Plateau (Lillooet, Shuswap, Upper Thompson, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alêne) the body is invariably flexed but in all other parts of the area the extended position is found.

Although cremation is the universal practice of the Carrier, and perhaps the Sekani, Morice interprets it as a recent importation from the Coast. The original custom of the Athabascans, he asserts,

> seems to have been to enclose the bodies within rough cratings made of small logs crossed at the ends, which were raised from three to seven feet above the ground on stout poles or posts, much after the manner of the scaffoldings whereon they cache their provisions and other household impedimenta. . . .

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[114] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 329.
[115] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 142.

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[The Sekani] occasionally concealed the remains of their dear ones within trees hollowed out for the purpose. Simple plebians, or people who enjoyed no special consideration, were simply left where they died, their fellows immediately lowering on their scarcely-cold bodies the shelters they had lived in, and moving on in their incessant peregrinations after game. In no case was cremation resorted to. But the Babines and Carriers had no sooner come in contact with the Skeena representatives of the Tsimshian stock, among whom the dead were cremated, than forsooth they commenced to burn the remains of those who fell out from among them. They even went so far as to erect as resting places for the small bones that would escape the ravages of the fire, those lofty funeral poles with square ornamented boxes so common along the coast of the northern Pacific. . . . Harmon, one of the first representatives of the Northwest Fur Trading Company in the west, tells us that the influence of the Carriers was leading the Sekanais to burn their dead.[116]

Jenness, in turn, quotes Harmon to the effect that cremation supplanted burial in the ground and adds,

The present-day Sekani have a clear remembrance of cremation, but not of burial in the ground. They assert that they discontinued cremation before the middle of the century, and reverted to an ancient custom, never entirely abandoned, of covering the dead with the brush huts that had sheltered them during their last days and then deserting the locality; but men of influence during that period they deposited in coffins raised on platforms or trees.[117]

It seems probable that the "coffins" referred to by Jenness are the "rough cratings" of Morice. If true boxes were intended, such as those used by the Carrier for bones, it seems certain that they were adopted from the Carrier. Since the latter received them from the Coast at a relatively late time, they surely could not belong to an old culture stratum of Sekani culture. One thing appears certain: the Sekani-Carrier do not practice inhumation and have not for time immemorial. They are thus quite definitely set apart from the peoples to the south in this respect.

Furthermore, cremation is fairly well established as a recent importation from the Coast, the older and typical method of disposal involving felling the hut over the body. The Chilcotin were coming to use cremation more and more up to the time of its abandonment through white influence. This increase was apparently the result of more frequent contact with the Coast. The use of cremation by the Shuswap

[116] Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 199.
[117] Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, p. 382; cf. Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 62.

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and Thompson is limited to deaths far from home or during warfare. The Thompson cremate less frequently than the Shuswap. This, together with the fact that the Lower Thompson do not cremate, indicates that the custom reached this area from the Chilcotin or more probably the Carrier. This suggests that the practice is of but slight age.

An alternative explanation for the presence of cremation here, and possibly to the north, is that these practices are but the remnants of ancient custom. The nature and distribution of the trait does not favor this interpretation, and it would not deserve a thought except for the archaeological presence of cremation somewhat farther south, and the current practice of the Klamath-Modoc. On the other hand, archaeological evidence within Lower Thompson territory shows inhumation to have been the former practice, although more recently disposal has been above ground. A final answer must wait upon further digging in the Plateau; at present the weight of evidence favors an outside origin for cremation.[118]

Klamath cremation links with that of northeastern California; the nearby Plateau tribes uniformly lack the practice.

The Wishram stand alone in the southern Plateau in their use of burial houses. For the particular type of structure there is no parallel anywhere in the Plateau; the miniature "houses" of the Lower Thompson differ considerably. The Wishram

> burial house was a small rectangular structure of planks set over a shallow pit, measuring about ten feet to the side and six feet high, and with a shed-roof, that is, with but a single pitch. The wall planks were set vertically. . . . "In them the bodies were laid with their heads to the west, sometimes piled up to a depth of three or four feet. Carved wooden images were frequently set up around the vaults, and the planks were often carved and painted to represent men or various animals."[119]

Disposal by the Lower Thompson is predominately in boxes; in fact, the "houses" referred to above are scarcely more than large boxes provided with sloping roofs. All types, large and small, are built up of cedar planks; none are dug out.

The boxes had lids, and were supported by posts, which were also often

[118] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 271; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 335 f.; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 71–73.

[119] Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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painted and carved. Each box belonged to a family or group of families, and many bodies were placed in the same box. When the boxes were full, a new one was made and placed near by. Some of these boxes had pitched roofs. Poles and grave figures were put up around the boxes. Articles of clothing and other offerings were often attached to these. . . . A few old burial places consisted of a staging erected on poles or posts. The bodies were wrapped in mats of cedar-bark in a sitting position, and deposited in boxes or on the stagings.[120]

There can be no question as to the origin of the disposal practices of the Wishram and Lower Thompson. Both were received from the Coast, one via the Columbia River, the other via the Fraser River. Likewise, the basket burial of the Lillooet is clearly coastal in origin. The large coiled basket merely has been substituted for the box.

[120] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 335.

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* The table presents traits of social culture typical to the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it.

The tribes are listed in approximate geographical order from south to north. The vertical lines mark transitions from one linguistic stock to another. The double lines separate tribes of the Canadian or northern Plateau from those of the American or southern Plateau. The geographical area of the northern part is about equal to that of the southern portion; the latter occupies more space on the chart merely because a larger number of groups is represented.

Breaks in the lines on the chart represent ascertained distributional absence, not merely lack of knowledge, except occasionally for the Wishram and Nez Percé.

Certain traits shown on the maps are utilized here also in order that they may be brought into visual relationship. Also, the table supplements the maps, adding the Klamath, whose extreme southerly habitat is beyond the border of the maps.

The charts are intended primarily as visual aids. Most of the items included are discussed in the text.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

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parties are yet children, and such a contract, guaranteed by an interchange of presents, is rarely broken. To give away a wife without a price is in the highest degree disgraceful to her family. Besides payment of the price, generally made for the suitor by his friends, courtship in some nations includes certain visits to the bride before marriage; and the Spokane suitor must consult both the chief and the young lady, as well as her parents; indeed the latter may herself propose if she wishes. Runaway matches are not unknown, but by the Nez Percés the woman is in such cases considered a prostitute, and the bride's parents may seize upon the man's property. Many tribes seem to require no marriage ceremony, but in others an assemblage of friends for smoking and feasting is called for on such occasions; and among the Flatheads more complicated ceremonies are mentioned, of which long lectures to the couple, baths, change of clothing, torch-light processions, and dancing form a part. In the married state the wife must do all the heavy work and drudgery, but is not otherwise ill treated, and in most tribes her rights are equally respected with those of the husband.

When there are several wives each occupies a separate lodge, or at least has a separate fire. Among the Spokanes a man marrying out of his own tribe joins that of his wife, because she can work better in a country to which she is accustomed; and in the same nation all household goods are considered as the wife's property. The man who marries the eldest daughter is entitled to all the rest, and parents make no objection to his turning off one in another's favor. Either party may dissolve the marriage at will, but property must be equitably divided, the children going with the mother. Discarded wives are often reinstated. If a Kliketat wife die soon after marriage, the husband may reclaim her price; the Nez Percé may not marry for a year after her death, but he is careful to avoid the inconvenience of this regulation by marrying just before that event. The Salish widow must remain a widow for about two years,

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765 and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's
587 taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women
594 make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers.
831 Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In
881 this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

594 [178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the
595 husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women
584 are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated,
58 and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe;
59 women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*,
562] vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

831 [179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of incontinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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of all unusual, impressive, or significant occurrences in terms of spirit power. Reference to one's own spirit was never specific, however, but always couched in vague or generic terms: 'my power,' 'my helper,' or, in colloquial English, 'my partner.' This last expression, heard constantly among these peoples even today, reflects most accurately the native attitude toward spirit power.[10]

This domination of life by spirit matters occurs with roughly equal intensity among the Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Kalispel, and Columbia. Emphasis is only slightly lighter among the Lakes, Spokane, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Wenatchi, and Kittitas, the last a Sahaptin group. Other Sahaptin peoples give markedly less attention to spirit matters but I cannot escape the conviction that this difference is of slight age and the direct result of Plains influence. All Sahaptin peoples share the extended Winter Spirit Dance with the Salish groups mentioned above.

In contrast, the interior Salish of British Columbia (exclusively) lack the Winter Spirit Dance entirely and emphasize the spirit quest and spirit causation more as formal ritual than as deep emotional ideology. For example, spirit intrusion and spirit loss as causes of illness are hardly present here, whereas to the south they are of momentous importance (see below). The period of absence on each spirit quest was considerably longer here than in the American Plateau, but this cannot be used as a criterion. The accumulated time after long repeated one-night quests might easily overbalance that of a single extended quest. The longest quests are found among the Lillooet where the duration may reach a year. Yet few persons engage in the quest and the whole concept plays a definitely minor role. The lengthening of the quest, both in this and in less extreme cases, is clearly the result of formalization and ritual emphasis, not religious intensity. The quest practice here of vigorously rubbing the body with conifer twigs might be interpreted as indicative of spiritual fervor if it were not that the custom is clearly borrowed from the Coast and that the identical explanation—ritual cleanliness—is given for its observance. The same applies to induced vomiting.

The Chilcotin present no problem in this respect. Spirit concepts are clearly of secondary importance in their lives. Their practices lie intermediately between those of the Lillooet and the Carrier. The spirit pattern of the Carrier, while dramatic, does not for a moment contest

[10] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 593 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point:

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned.

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[84] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[84] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,

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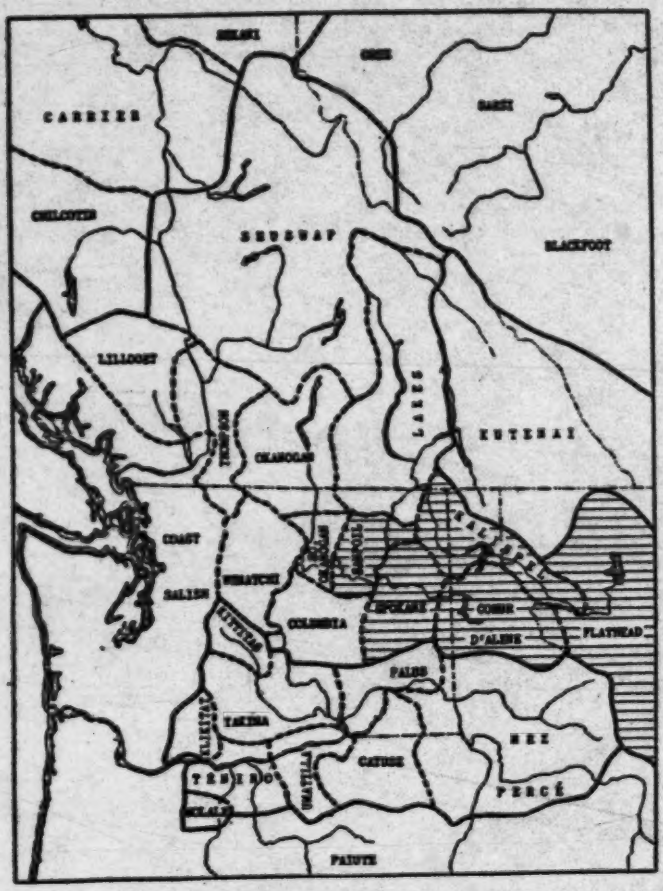

MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[55]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[55] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[86] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[86] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Vog.*, pp. 186, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palmer's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Lewis and Clark's Travels*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf 825 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle.....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

or tributaries, which clearly indicates the route of diffusion: Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Southern Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alêne.[26] The distribution of dwarfs as tutelaries is identical (except possibly for the Southern Okanogan) but hardly coincidental. My data bear out Park's observation that a belief in dwarfs is more widespread than their occurrence as guardians.[27] In addition to the group mentioned above, dwarfs are known to the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Flathead, Shuswap, and Carrier.

Spirits whose normal form is anthropomorphic are infrequent except for the dwarfs. But not only anthropomorphic but human spirits are declared to be recognized by the Thompson and, by implication, the Shuswap.[28] But the guise in which spirits appear to human beings is uniformly anthropomorphic among all Plateau peoples with the following exceptions. The marginal Kutenai and the Kalispel recognize both animal and human guise while the Carrier and Chilcotin spirits appear only in animal or half-human form. The animal guise may be typical of the Mackenzie area; it is specifically the Sekani pattern. But it is probably more widespread, especially southward into the Plains.[29] This would explain the Kalispel-Kutenai compromise. Since the dominant spirits of the Coast, mythological beings, are fundamentally anthropomorphic in form, the Plateau stands out as a unit in recognizing animal spirits which assume anthropomorphic form in contact with man.

Park treats as one the concepts of power derived from ghosts and that derived from spirits of dead relatives.[30] This is not justified in the Plateau. A brief digression is necessary to explain.

During life, the guardian spirit and its possessor are clearly distinguished as two distinct entities; this has been pointed out above. A third entity, the soul, is conceptually distinct from these two and materially distinct from the spirit; indeed, wholly unrelated to it. On the other hand, the soul is inextricably linked with the material human body in a physical way; it is the animating force in the body. Separation of the two entails immediate death or serious illness followed by death if

[26] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 245; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 236 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 135 f.

[27] Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 78 f.

[28] Contrary to Park (*Shamanism*, p. 77); Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 605.

[29] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68–70; Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, pp. 12 ff.

[30] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 79.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

775 776 the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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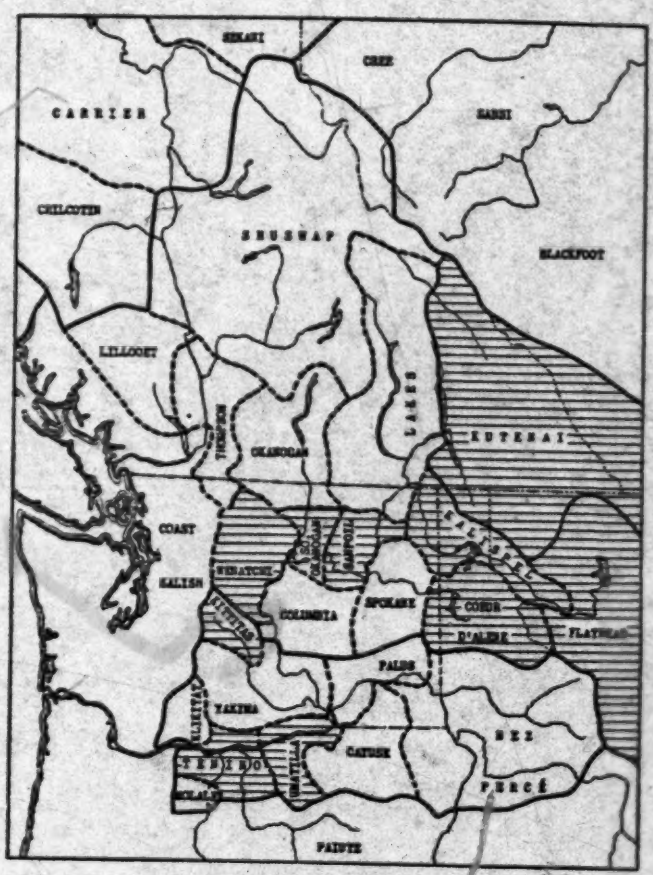

MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

775 776 Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disintegrates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genus; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

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Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous spirits. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it*. The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[a]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[a]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[a] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[a] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[a] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[a] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits."

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the

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776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life.

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact.

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted.

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point:

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned.

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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> Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. . . . The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.[14]

Do the Southern Okanogan really make this unusual distinction? The answer may be sought in the terminology of the native language. The term su·mi'x (Southern Okanogan) is used, with dialectical variations, throughout the region as the sole term for the designation of the guardian spirit or the power associated with the spirit. In the translation of native texts the interpreter sometimes translates su·mi'x as "power," sometimes as "partner," and when he learns the ethnologist's term spirit, he adds that to the variants. But to the naïve informant the term spirit usually, if not always, calls up the notion of ghost or soul rather than guardian. But I have never encountered the slightest conceptual confusion between guardian spirit and soul anywhere in the Plateau. Spier states of the Klamath, "Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits."[15] The Sanpoil, like certain other Plateau groups, locate the soul near the heart or thereabouts, but nowhere in the entire area is the spirit conceived as residing in the body. Even among the Kutenai, where the spirit enters the body during the vision, it immediately leaves and must be called back when needed. Therefore it appears certain that Cline is confusing informants' statements regarding the soul and the spirit, when, in the statements above, he distinguishes between spirit and power and localizes the latter in the body.[16]

This is not to deny that distinctions between spirit and power exist in parts of the Plateau, or that power or talents are not conferred which are effective without constant spirit presence. The Klamath do not receive guardians that serve as familiars, but merely derive abiding power from a supernatural experience involving a spirit. Spier observes that

> The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts or professions or for success and wealth.[17]

[14] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 133.
[15] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 100.
[16] The distinction between soul and spirit is further discussed below.
[17] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 250.

The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of disease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following

[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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or tributaries, which clearly indicates the route of diffusion: Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Southern Okanogan, and Coeur d'Alêne.[26] The distribution of dwarfs as tutelaries is identical (except possibly for the Southern Okanogan) but hardly coincidental. My data bear out Park's observation that a belief in dwarfs is more widespread than their occurrence as guardians.[27] In addition to the group mentioned above, dwarfs are known to the Sanpoil, Wenatchi, Flathead, Shuswap, and Carrier.

Spirits whose normal form is anthropomorphic are infrequent except for the dwarfs. But not only anthropomorphic but human spirits are declared to be recognized by the Thompson and, by implication, the Shuswap.[28] But the guise in which spirits appear to human beings is uniformly anthropomorphic among all Plateau peoples with the following exceptions. The marginal Kutenai and the Kalispel recognize both animal and human guise while the Carrier and Chilcotin spirits appear only in animal or half-human form. The animal guise may be typical of the Mackenzie area; it is specifically the Sekani pattern. But it is probably more widespread, especially southward into the Plains.[29] This would explain the Kalispel-Kutenai compromise. Since the dominant spirits of the Coast, mythological beings, are fundamentally anthropomorphic in form, the Plateau stands out as a unit in recognizing animal spirits which assume anthropomorphic form in contact with man.

Park treats as one the concepts of power derived from ghosts and that derived from spirits of dead relatives.[30] This is not justified in the Plateau. A brief digression is necessary to explain.

During life, the guardian spirit and its possessor are clearly distinguished as two distinct entities; this has been pointed out above. A third entity, the soul, is conceptually distinct from these two and materially distinct from the spirit; indeed, wholly unrelated to it. On the other hand, the soul is inextricably linked with the material human body in a physical way; it is the animating force in the body. Separation of the two entails immediate death or serious illness followed by death if

[26] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 245; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 236 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 135 f.

[27] Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 78 f.

[28] Contrary to Park (*Shamanism*, p. 77); Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 605.

[29] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68–70; Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, pp. 12 ff.

[30] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 79.

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775 776 the two are not soon reunited. The soul is conceived as being located somewhere within the body; the Sanpoil localize it near the heart but it is not identified with that organ; the Canadian Salish believe it to be situated in the head.

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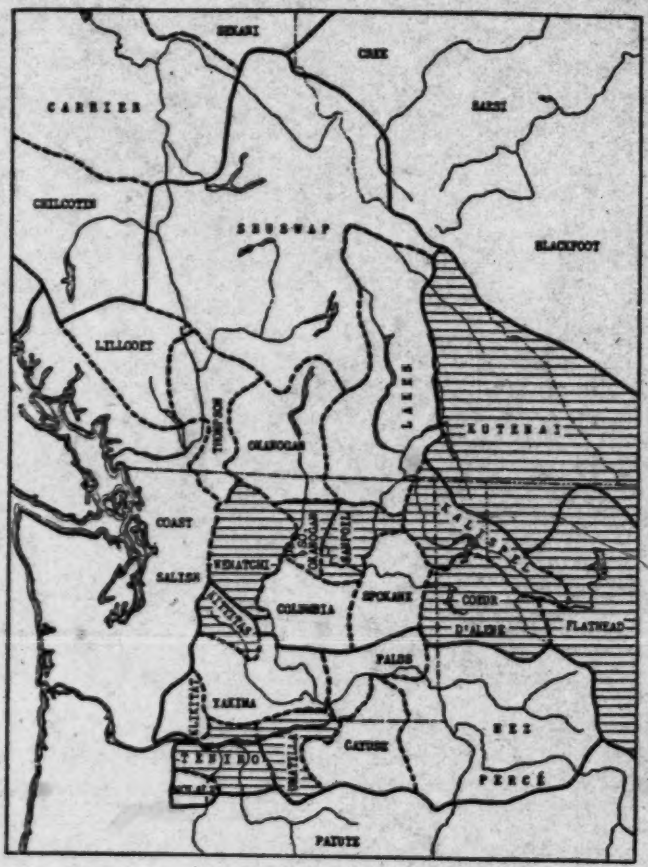

MAP 8. The spirit-ghost concept.

775 776 Now upon death the soul and body are separated. The body disintegrates, ceases to exist; but the soul becomes transformed into the ghost (unless it immediately goes to the land of the dead) and continues to exist. Its form may be pseudo-anthropomorphic or, at the other extreme, flame-like or bone-like.

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At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genus; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous ones. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

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rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 249.

[36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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kind is unknown in the Plateau. But frequently a man instructs one of his spirits to appear to his son or presents the boy with a symbol which will aid in obtaining a specific spirit. This is not merely a vague reflection of the coastal pattern of heredity, for in the latter case, at least,

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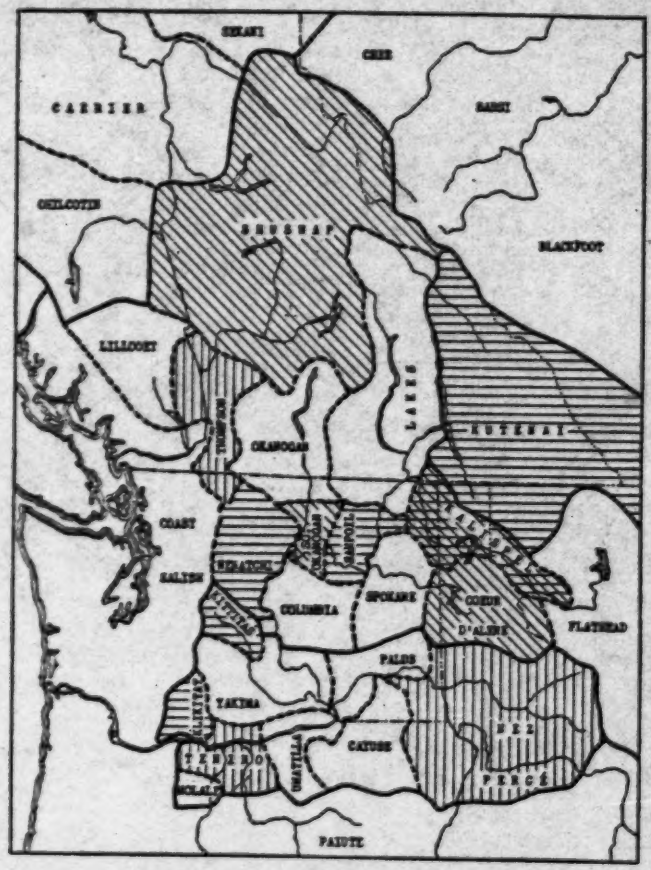

MAP 9. Inheritance of guardian spirits. *Vertical hatching:* true inheritance; *horizontal hatching:* upon instruction only; *diagonal hatching:* transference by use of symbol.

the father often selects a symbol unrepresentative of any of his own spirits. Furthermore, an unrelated person, an elderly shaman or merely a proctor, may send out his spirit to be found or may provide the symbol. The pattern of so instructing one's own spirit typifies the south

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central area (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Kutenai). It is lacking for the Klamath, Wishram (?), Southern Okanogan, Flathead, and Canadian Plateau. The distribution is mutually exclusive of that of transmission by means of a symbol (Southern Okanogan,[38] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Shuswap; not Lillooet, Flathead) except for the Kalispel where the practices seem to reflect amalgamation. Neither of these concepts appears typical of any adjacent area; they may, therefore be considered local developments with the Canadian-American areas once more contrasted in specific trait identity though the continuity of distribution argues for a general relation of the two concepts.

Certain of the groups lacking both traits do, nevertheless, possess a more specific notion of inheritance. These are the very ones most intimately associated with the Coast (Klamath, Tenino, Thompson), plus the Nez Percé, the "Plains tribe" which shows upon close analysis many coastal features undoubtedly received via the Columbia-Snake route. Among the Tenino, according to Murdock, "guardian spirits are transmitted by a parent of either sex to an own child of either sex —but by or to no one else—at the winter shamanistic performances."[39] The absence of heredity among the Wishram may actually represent only absence of data. Altogether these cases support Spier's contention that even minimal reflection of true inheritance points to a coastal origin.[40]

And yet the case is not closed. All the southern examples, with the exception of the Tenino, may actually involve the spirit-ghost concept. The fundamentals of this idea were given above. When a man possessing a guardian spirit dies, not only does his soul become a ghost, but his guardian spirit may undergo a similar transformation and become a spirit-ghost. The spirit-ghost lacks almost completely its former characteristics; even its generic name is dropped. Instead it refers to itself (in communion with man) by the term for spirit-ghost or a *relationship term designating the person who before death possessed it*. The spirit-ghost, *in the guise of the deceased*, appears to a person in a dream or vision and seeks acceptance as a secondary power. That person is usually but not invariably a relative. This commonly happens within a year after the death of the spirit's owner. The spirit-ghost speaks to the dreamer in the following tenor: "I am your father (or friend). I

[38] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 137 f.
[39] Murdock, personal correspondence.
[40] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 247–49.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.

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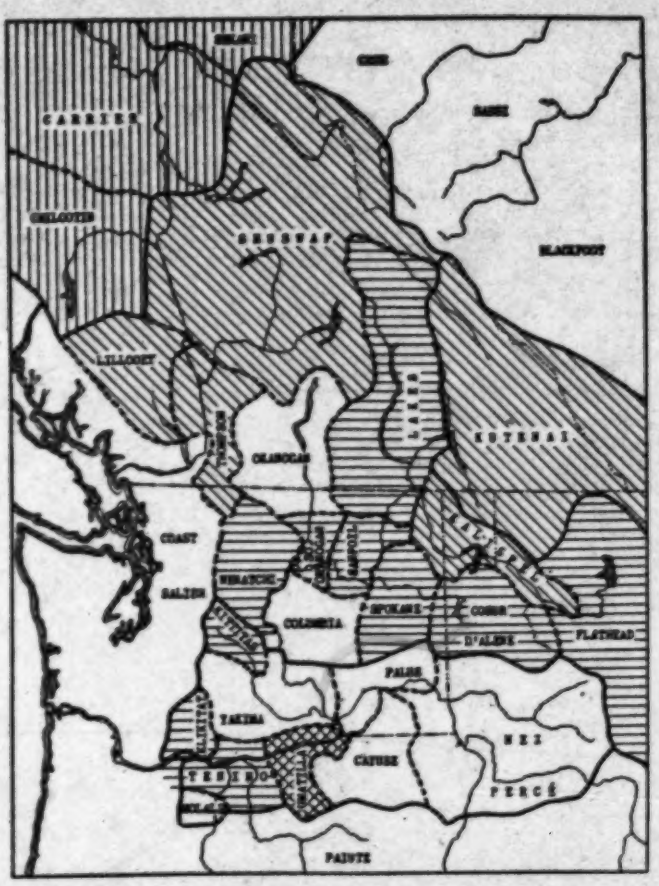
here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far



MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

Shaman versus Layman

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An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

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ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[66] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[66] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[67]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[68]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[67] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[68] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[86]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

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Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[86] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, pp. 262–64.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

765 Grief at the death of a relative is manifested by cutting the hair and smearing the face with black. The women also howl at intervals for a period of weeks or even months; but the men on ordinary occasions rarely make open demonstrations of sorrow, though they sometimes shed tears at the death of a son. Several instances 762 765 of suicide in mourning are recorded; a Walla Walla chieftain caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons. The death of a wife or daughter is deemed of comparatively little consequence. In case of a tribal disaster, as the death of a prominent chief, or the killing of a band of warriors by a hostile tribe, all indulge in the most frantic demonstrations, tearing the hair, lacerating the flesh with flints, often in- 782 flicting serious injury. The sacrifice of human life, generally that of a slave, was practiced, but apparently no- 765 where as a regular part of the funeral rites. Among the Flatheads the bravest of the men and women ceremonially bewail the loss of a warrior by cutting out pieces of their own flesh and casting them with roots and other [551] articles into the fire. A long time passes before a dead person's name is willingly spoken in the tribe. The 764 corpse is commonly disposed of by wrapping in ordinary clothing and burying in the ground without a coffin. The northern tribes sometimes suspended the body in a canoe from a tree, while those in the south formerly piled their dead in wooden sheds or sepulchres above ground. The Okanagans often bound the body upright to the trunk of a tree. Property was in all cases sacrificed; horses usually, and slaves sometimes, killed on the grave. The more valuable articles of wealth were deposited with the body; the rest suspended on poles over and about the grave or left on the surface of the ground; always previously damaged in such manner as not to tempt the sacrilegious thief, for their places of

164 756 *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

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was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but sometimes for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Kliketats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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Dances Associated with War

535 726 787 The term "war dance" has been so loosely used in the literature that it is sometimes difficult even to determine whether a particular ritual precedes or follows a battle. More subtle differences are even less frequently reflected in the accounts. However, several patterns may be tentatively isolated in the Plateau: (1) a dance seeking supernatural protection or prediction of success; (2) a dance of incitement; (3) a parade dance in solicitation of recruits; (4) a dance by the women during a war party's absence; (5) a processional dance by the returning war party after a victory; (6) a victory dance in the home camp.

The above is a conceptual classification, not an historical one. Relations of the latter nature will appear in the discussion.

The dance seeking supernatural aid or protection, or the supernatural prediction of success or failure, is spread from the Carrier to the Klamath along the western edge of the Plateau. It is described by Teit for the Thompson and western Shuswap:

> Before departing the [Shuswap] warriors held a war dance similar to that customary among the Thompson Indians. The war shaman sang alone, and danced in a circle, moving against the sun. He prayed in his song for success of the party, and that their enemies might become as women. When he had finished his shaman's song and incantations, the war chief, decorated in feathers and war-paint, joined him and struck up his war-song. Then all of the warriors followed and danced in a circle, moving in a direction against the course of the sun, singing, and dashing their spears to each side and praying that they might thus easily kill their enemies.

Besides such activities as these, various semi-magical means were used to determine specific details regarding the enterprise. A rather elaborate procedure was followed by the Shuswap:

> All the men put contributions of dried fish in a pile, some giving more, and others less. Then the shaman cut up all the fish, and distributed the pieces to the warriors, who sat in a circle, making the rounds in the direction opposite to the sun's course. Each warrior had to receive an equal number of pieces, without any being left over. If the shaman did not succeed in making an even division, he took the fish back, placed them in a heap, and covered them with a blanket. He retired to a spot a short distance away, danced, and sang, facing the pile, and using his shamanistic power to make the division come out even the next time. If he failed four times in this division of the war provisions, it was considered a bad omen, and the party did not start.[77]

[77] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 611, see also p. 543; see Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356.

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An identical account of prediction ritual was given to me by the Fraser River Shuswap adjacent to the Carrier, but the latter tribe does not share the practice, nor do any other Plateau tribes, as far as I could ascertain. This procedure smacks strongly of the Coast and it is hardly to be doubted that this was its ideological source. But the more specific Coast practices of prediction by counting mistaken steps of dancers or examining the hands for blood are found only among the Carrier, where, it will be recalled, shamans are war leaders.

Lillooet dances for supernatural aid are very similar, but are held after the party has departed.[78]

Southward, among the Wishram, the same objectives are sought, but dreams play a prominent role:

> A war dance took place before dawn of the first night of the expedition, in which dreams prefiguring the conflict were related. "We dreamt that we all became covered with blood. And then in the morning our chief said: 'Now do you make a fire and I shall tell you something.' So then we got up from bed, and then we took hold of [notched rasps]. And then we sang, now strongly we sang. And then the hero said: 'Now I shall tell you people what I dreamt. Now this day we shall die. I have seen the Paiutes. If we are to see them, it will rain.' Thus said the hero. And again we sang rubbing the [notched rasps] together. And again one man said: 'Now I shall tell you what I, for my part, dreamt. A grizzly bear ran away from us toward the setting sun. And then we caught only the grizzly bear's son. Thus did I dream.' And the people yelled their war-whoop."[79]

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And again, among the Klamath, a similar pattern is encountered. A preparatory performance

> is an indispensable preliminary to a raiding party. It can hardly be styled a war dance, as it is doubtful that it contains any true dance form. It is held in the open for from one to three nights depending on the size of the group engaged. It consists essentially of two things, mimicry of an onslaught by the warriors and prevision of their success by a shaman.[80]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé that,

> In the ancient War dance there were two lines of dancers and a leader. Time was kept by rubbing a round stick up and down over a notched stick sewed to a stiff piece of hide. The songs were individual, as were those of the Scalp dance and the Guardian Spirit dance, and apparently were very much

[78] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 235.
[79] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 229 f.
[80] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 29 f.

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like them. . . . It is evident that the warriors sang songs according to the nature of their guardian spirits.[81]

Among the Coeur d'Alêne the dance held before going to war originally seems to have been the same as the war dance performed by the Thompson and northern Salish tribes, and similar to an older form in vogue among the Nez Percé. In later days the steps of the dance and some other details were modified, probably under the influence of the Flathead and eastern tribes. In the old form the guardian spirit element was more pronounced than in the modern form, which lacks this element almost entirely. It seems also that the oldest form of the dance was to a greater degree imitative of battle than the modern dance, which is reduced more to a set form for all dancers, and allows less freedom of action to the individual.[82]

It is somewhat doubtful that the change was a gradual one; more probably it was a substitution, since quite different notions lie behind the two dances. The old form involved sweating, the solicitation of aid from guardian spirits, and a dance sequence which was essentially of a wishful type, the imitation of a successful encounter. The later form was the incitement dance, the second type above. The procedure is much more highly formalized, as Teit points out. But more important are these facts: it does not involve guardian spirits or magic; it is not a plea for success; it does not include war antics or simulation of battle; it is, as the name implies, a dance of incitement, a type of physically intense group activity in which emotional tone is built up to a feverish pitch.

This interpretation is supported by statements of the Nez Percé as reported by Spinden:

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Little could be learned about the ancient War dance of the Nez Percés. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was abandoned and the War dance of the Crow Indians substituted. The warriors of the Nez Pérce tribe crawled up to the Crow camps under cover of darkness and learned the songs of their War dance. The first War dance obtained from the Crows was later replaced by another. In this later dance, syllables, not words, were used.[83]

This imported dance of incitement spread to the Umatilla, Yakima, Columbia, and perhaps even farther. Since its adoption it has undergone considerable modification, both through local specialization and continued borrowing of isolated elements from the Plains war complex,

[81] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 264 f.
[82] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 187.
[83] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 264.

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particularly in the matters of regalia and drumming. It has thus come definitely to be a Plateau ceremonial in organization and execution; it does not closely parallel any specific Plains dance.

It has also become specialized in function. The dance persists strongly to this day; obviously it is no longer a "war dance" in function. Instead it has come to be a purely social dance, and still more formalized than earlier. Even with its new interpretation, however, it is not danced by the Sanpoil, Teit to the contrary.[84]

The third dance type, wherein volunteers for a war party are solicited, includes a processional as well as a dance. It is found only in the eastern and southeastern Plateau. Among the Coeur d'Alêne, when war was decided upon

> the chief (?) took a blanket and beat time on it with a short stick, at the same time singing a war song. Others took hold of the blanket and did likewise, joining in the song. The party turned around slowly in a circle contra-sunwise as they sang. Each who joined by taking hold of the blanket pledged himself as a member of the war party. . . . If an individual decided to go to war and wanted companions he took a robe and beat time on it with a short stick. He sang his war song, stopping in front of every lodge. Those who wanted to join took hold of the robe and sang and beat time with him.[85]

Spinden writes of the Nez Percé:

> A portion of the ancient War dance which was not discarded was the Farewell song of the warriors before every lodge on the night before going on the war-path. The men went from lodge to lodge and paused before each, singing a song and beating time on a buffalo-hide blanket. There were many different songs employed. The women followed behind and joined in the chorus.[86]

Spinden is almost certainly wrong in interpreting this dance as ancient, or as a farewell. In describing the Plains war complex, Smith states,

> A war dance was held in order to obtain the volunteers of whom the war party was composed. This dance was directly instigated by the prospective leader of the expedition. It might be simple in character, such as the offer and acceptance of a pipe or a march in which the volunteers took part, or the dance might be elaborate. In either case the enlistment of the warrior was sealed by his performance of the prescribed act.[87]

[84] Teit, *loc. cit.*
[85] *Idem*, p. 188.
[86] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 265.
[87] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 449 f.

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177 This dance for volunteers is shown to be widespread in the Plains and well integrated in the complex. It undoubtedly reached the Plateau at a late date. Spinden's interpretation is apparently the result of native rephrasing in recent days. The dance is still held regularly by the Nez Percé.

In the fourth type of dance associated with war, that performed by the women during the absence of the war party, we suspect influence from the opposite direction, the Coast. Extensive restrictions govern the actions of women on the Coast, not only during warfare, but while men are engaged in hunting. In connection with war, the women's dance is common. In the Plateau it is found only among the Thompson and Okanogan, apparently the result of a diffusion up the Fraser Valley.

[722] While the [Thompson] men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. . . . If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon . . . she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed.[88]

Obviously the ideology here is the same as that of the men's dance for prediction and aid.

535 727 The processional dance of the returning victorious war party carries us back to the Plains again for the type picture.

There seems to have been no tribe of the Plains area, with the possible exception of the Arikara, in which the returning war party did not camp outside the village before making its entrance. In part, this was in order to prepare for the dances which followed; in part to make that entrance more impressive. But there can be no doubt that the return of a war party was a ceremonial affair which customarily involved the ushering of the successful warriors into the village by all or some part of those who had remained behind.[89]

When a Coeur d'Alêne war party was victorious the people went out to meet the party and escorted them into camp. The warriors marched with faces blackened and bearing the scalps on the ends of slender poles or on

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 356; cf. Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 293.
[89] Smith, *War Complex*, p. 443.

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RELIGIOUS LIFE

THE GUARDIAN SPIRIT CONCEPT

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The guardian spirit concept has been given more thorough comparative study than any other aspect of Northwestern culture. Benedict selected the practices of the Thompson Indians as the type picture for her general study of the concept.[1] Likewise much of her documentary data were drawn from the Northwest. Later Spier furnished a penetrating analysis for western America with the Klamath as the point of reference.[2] Very recently, under Spier's stimulation, Park made a similar but even more exhaustive analysis with the Paviotso as the point d'appui.[3]

It remains here, then, merely to add new data and inquire to what extent the conclusions of earlier writers may be modified thereby.

Descriptive Sketches

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For purposes of orientation three brief descriptions will be given, summarizing the spirit notions of the Sanpoil, the Kutenai, and the Carrier. These are selected because they represent high points in the differential development of the complex in the interior, and will provide bases upon which intervening variations may be pictured. Two other equally important groups for reference are the Thompson and the Klamath, but these, as indicated, have already been handled in comparative studies. Likewise the Paviotso of the Basin.

The Sanpoil pattern needs but brief résumé since it is already described in published form.[4] Spirits are non-human in character though they appear in visions and dreams in human guise. The "true" form is assumed while disappearing after the communion. The range of spirits is theoretically unlimited in both the animate and inanimate categories. Every known animal serves to some extent, though natural phenomena and inanimate objects are much less commonly exploited. Heavenly bodies do not contribute. Most spirits are generic in nature[5] but specific tutelaries are not uncommon. In the latter category fabricated objects are quite numerous.

It is incumbent upon every boy to engage in a series of one-night

[1] Benedict, *Guardian Spirit Concept.*
[2] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 239–79.
[3] Park, *Shamanism.*
[4] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 169–211.
[5] That is, the name refers abstractly to the genus, not to a specific animal.

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quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits."

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the

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776 community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his
787 character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his
869 life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

533 The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness
756 or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds
776 it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song
787 is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

776 Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The
787 range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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over a fire of juniper. As among the Sanpoil, he receives an object to carry, but in this case it is highly symbolic. It represents a specific animal and aids in obtaining power from that animal. It is carried on a string around the neck and only occasionally deposited at the destination. Usually it is kept throughout life. 776 787

As suggested by the use of the symbol, particular spirits are often sought, the selection being made by the father. The spirit chosen is not uniformly one of those possessed by the parent, however. This links with specific statements that spirits are not hereditary. Further, a particular spirit always conveys a specific type of power. This suggests that in effect the search is directed toward a type of power rather than a specific spirit. It also indicates a wide divergence from the Sanpoil pattern.

Throughout the quest a fast is maintained. This parallels Sanpoil practice but the functional significance is slight in the latter case because of the brief duration. The Kutenai suppliant visits a definite spirit locale in the mountains or on the prairie but does not pile rocks except at the one spot where success is achieved. Diving in lakes is practiced with the definite anticipation of finding a spirit below. Caves are used for shelter and sought as possible spirit locales.

The Kutenai vision pattern exhibits several new elements. The experience may come in either a dream or a vision. The spirit, in the guise of animal or youth, appears, disappears, and reappears in various quarters. The conversation is less formalized than with the Sanpoil but instructions are given and promises made. A song is invariably conferred. Indeed, in some cases the spirit does not appear at all; only a song is heard. In this event the song conveys the nature of the power and the identity of the spirit. The spirit, or the song, is conceived as actually entering the visionary's body at a particular spot, causing a sort of hypnotism. Thenceforward the spot is sacred. When the individual wishes help he taps the spot and thus calls his guardian. To others the spot is tabu. Actual communion with the spirit is infrequent subsequent to the quest, but upon such occasions the spirit carries his charge back to the site of first contact. 533 776 787

The song is all important and all-sufficient to the experience. No dance step, animal cry, nor symbol is given to the visionary.

Unsought reception of spirit power is frequent among the Kutenai, not rare as with the Sanpoil. It is not essential that such power be accepted. 776 787

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion*.

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

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The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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with that of central and southern Plateau groups. An observation by Jenness is to the point:

> Nevertheless, [Carrier] dreams were so erratic, visitations from the animal world so ungovernable, that no Indian hunter cared to stake all his fortunes upon them. He believed that in ancient days the animals themselves had delivered to him a powerful weapon by disclosing certain "medicines" and rituals that would deliver the game into his hands.[11]

(The latter belief is unknown to the south.)

One last example may illuminate the judgements above. Olson writes, "Nothing bulked larger in Quinault life than the acquisition and control of supernatural power."[12] Now it is certain that the Lower Chinook gave spiritual power greater emphasis than did the Quinault. Further, the Chinook

> quest differed very slightly from that of the Plateau. Even though an interior group as far distant as the Kalispel of northern Idaho be taken for comparison, the quest exhibits no significant difference; while even minor details are impressively similar.[13]

Yet it would never occur to me to equate the *functional intensity* of the Chinook concept and that of the Kalispel, the former is so much the slighter.

Conceptual Factors

For introduction I may refer to the quotation above in which the role of the spirit guardian and helper is discussed and the colloquialism "my partner" is mentioned.

The expression "my power" is also frequently heard among the English speaking natives of the central Plateau. The two terms "partner" and "power" seem to be used interchangeably. On the other hand the natives seldom or never speak of "spirits" or of "spirit power." Nor do they say "partner power." These English speaking habits have led to considerable confusion and have obscured the point made above. Cline, for example, states of the Southern Okanogan that "One's guardian spirit dwelt somewhere in the woods or mountains, and came to him when he thought of it or needed its aid," a formulation corresponding exactly to that given above. But he also says,

[11] Jenness, *op. cit.*
[12] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 141.
[13] Ray, *Historical Position*, p. 370.

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> Though one's power was something quite distinct from his soul, the Okanagon believed, in a vague way, that it resided inside him, perhaps in his chest or in his heart. . . . The "spirit" was perhaps the guardian spirit in animal or other guise, as opposed to the formless potency which one had obtained from it and which abided within him.[14]

Do the Southern Okanogan really make this unusual distinction? The answer may be sought in the terminology of the native language. The term su·mi'x (Southern Okanogan) is used, with dialectical variations, throughout the region as the sole term for the designation of the guardian spirit or the power associated with the spirit. In the translation of native texts the interpreter sometimes translates su·mi'x as "power," sometimes as "partner," and when he learns the ethnologist's term spirit, he adds that to the variants. But to the naïve informant the term spirit usually, if not always, calls up the notion of ghost or soul rather than guardian. But I have never encountered the slightest conceptual confusion between guardian spirit and soul anywhere in the Plateau. Spier states of the Klamath, "Souls and ghosts are separate entities, and again are sharply distinct from spirits."[15] The Sanpoil, like certain other Plateau groups, locate the soul near the heart or thereabouts, but nowhere in the entire area is the spirit conceived as residing in the body. Even among the Kutenai, where the spirit enters the body during the vision, it immediately leaves and must be called back when needed. Therefore it appears certain that Cline is confusing informants' statements regarding the soul and the spirit, when, in the statements above, he distinguishes between spirit and power and localizes the latter in the body.[16]

This is not to deny that distinctions between spirit and power exist in parts of the Plateau, or that power or talents are not conferred which are effective without constant spirit presence. The Klamath do not receive guardians that serve as familiars, but merely derive abiding power from a supernatural experience involving a spirit. Spier observes that

> The Klamath concept apparently holds for all tribes of the Pacific coast. There does not appear anywhere the Plains type of quest for particular sanctions. The spirits of the experiences are not guardians, they are not invoked (save by shamans), and they give continuing powers to perform the arts or professions or for success and wealth.[17]

[14] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 133.
[15] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 100.
[16] The distinction between soul and spirit is further discussed below.
[17] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 250.

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The specific sanction is unknown even to the Plains-like Kutenai or Flathead. But the generalization concerning invoked guardians does not hold for a great part of the Plateau. Specific and necessary invocation is practiced by the Tenino, Umatilla, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead; the Kutenai, Sanpoil, Southern Okanogan (see above); and the Shuswap. Among the Carrier the spirit reappears throughout life in dreams. In the other groups the spirit is recalled in a formalized manner, often by singing. Among the Lillooet, Thompson, and Chilcotin the notion seems to be more that of continuing talents. The latter have undoubtedly been influenced by the Coast. Four distinct patterns emerge: sanctions, limited to the Plains; inherent power, typical of the Coast and penetrating to the Klamath; volitional dreams, perhaps typical of the Mackenzie Basin; and invocation of ever-present spirits, unquestionably typical of the Plateau.

A related matter demands consideration. The Plateau notion is not that spirits cannot be identified with man or enter man's body; but rather that such identification or intrusion is unusual, the common condition being that of separate existences. Intrusion during the vision appears unique to the Kutenai, though the hypnotism or unconsciousness accompanying visions of the Tenino, Klikitat, and Umatilla may be the result of intrusion or possession. More probably, however, it is the strength of the power that causes the reaction. These groups, far removed from the Kutenai, are contiguous and open to influences from the Coast where violent reactions are thus interpreted.

Intrusion of another's spirit is recognized as a definite cause of disease by the Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, and Lower Thompson. To the north of the Thompson the spirit is the agent causing the intrusion of an object. This is exactly the Klamath notion. The intrusive spirit, then, uniformly characterizes the central and southern Plateau, except the Klamath. It may be considered typical of the Plateau, though not exclusive to it. The Chinook share the concept, possibly borrowed from the Klikitat or Wishram, but it is not known among the Quinault, the Tillamook, or coastal tribes to the south.[18]

A further type of spirit intrusion or possession is that occurring upon the return of the spirit at maturity after an absence following

[18] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 244; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 122; Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 141 ff.; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, pp. 188–91.

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

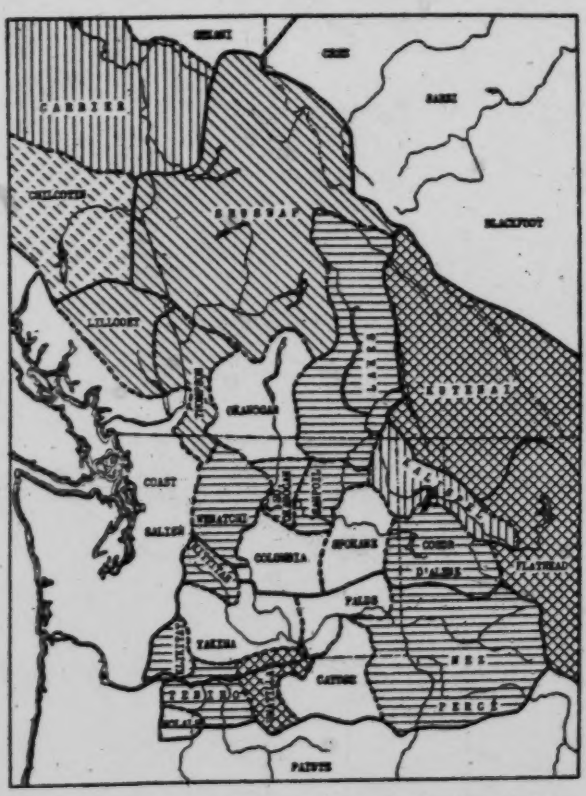
[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 249–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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rule, but it is weaker among the Shuswap than others. This may be due to contact with the Carrier, where the question is hardly a pertinent one (see above), but specialization is not characteristic. The Kutenai stand alone in assuming that spirits are specialized and yet that a man may obtain only one.

Since particularized powers characterize the Coast it seems obvious that we are dealing with but two centers, the Coast and the south central Plateau. Coastal influences up the Fraser Valley may well account for the specialization there, while less direct trans-Cascade diffusion plus marginal variation may be inferred in the other cases. This assumes that *non-specialization* is a positive element. I think this must be granted; it is obvious when expressed correctly but awkwardly, "Any spirit may grant any power." Specialization of spirits must not be confused with the granting of specialized talents, a universal feature in the Plateau.

Not unrelated to the above is intentional search for a specific spirit, or any of a group of spirits conferring similar power. One might surmise that the intentional search would be coextensive with specialized spirits. This is exactly the case at the extremes. Groups with modified specialization align with those lacking it: quest objectives are indefinite. In speaking of definite objectives as lacking it is not implied that blessings of a general nature—good luck, health, wealth—are not sought and expected.[36] This brings into relief an aspect of the spirit concept often overlooked. Favors of two kinds are invariably conveyed throughout the Plateau: general good fortune and a specific talent. It is the latter which may or may not be specialized according to spirit identity. One further note: in the area where specific objectives are absent, they are only *formally* lacking. The youth undoubtedly harbors secret desires in many cases. Indeed, this surely accounts for the specific nature of many a vision.

The inheritance of spirits is a knotty problem since the interpretations of inheritance are numerous. A spirit may be strictly hereditary in the lineage, perhaps unilaterally. This system prevails on the Coast north of the Quinault, resulting in some cases in "spirit quests" that are merely empty forms for ritualistic purposes.[37] Heredity of this

p. 237; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, p. 86; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 133 ff.; Spinden, *Nez Perce Indians*, p. 249. [36] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95.

[37] E.g., Boas, *Social Organization and Secret Societies*, pp. 503 ff.

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want you to imitate me. I'll do good for you if you will do good for me. I'm lost now and I want you for my partner." The one addressed is not privileged to reject the proposal without becoming seriously ill. Acceptance, too, involves unavoidable illness unless one's former power be greater than that which he is to receive from the spirit-ghost. The illness is similar to that caused by the first return of an ordinary spirit, but more intense. A shaman must be called, who removes the spirit-ghost, brings it under control, and returns it to the patient. Thereafter its power is available for use in much the same manner as ordinary spirit power.[41]

It seems highly probable that some, at least, of the cases of "inheritance" are actually of this order. This pattern, slightly modified, fits Klamath inheritance perfectly. The Klamath shaman's "spirits and clairvoyant powers are released by his death and must go to someone else. If his relatives keep his pipe or other paraphernalia about, it is certain that his spirits will come to one of them."[42]

To a slight extent the Shuswap share the belief and it is entirely possible that Teit's statements concerning power derived from ghosts is the result of the confusion of the soul-ghost and the spirit-ghost. The Chilcotin lack the concept, as do the Carrier. But among the latter a shaman may sometimes effect the transfer of a spirit from a father to his son.

The spirit-ghost notion indeed involves inheritance and may be built upon a generalized concept borrowed from the Coast. But it is certainly cast in a Plateau mold and centers well to the interior. It is surely significant that the transfer is not always to a relative (Kalispel, Kutenai) and that it may be "given" by the patient to the attending shaman or wholly discarded (Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan,[43] Sanpoil).

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One of the profoundest points of distinction in the spirit concept is the mode of reception, whether by true vision, or dream, or a combination of the two. I have pointed out above that the experience may take place in a half-waking (or half-sleeping) state and yet be culturally classified as definitely dream, or definitely vision. Since the problem

[41] Description based on the Sanpoil pattern; among certain other groups the illness is less severe or absent.

[42] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 97.

[43] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 153.

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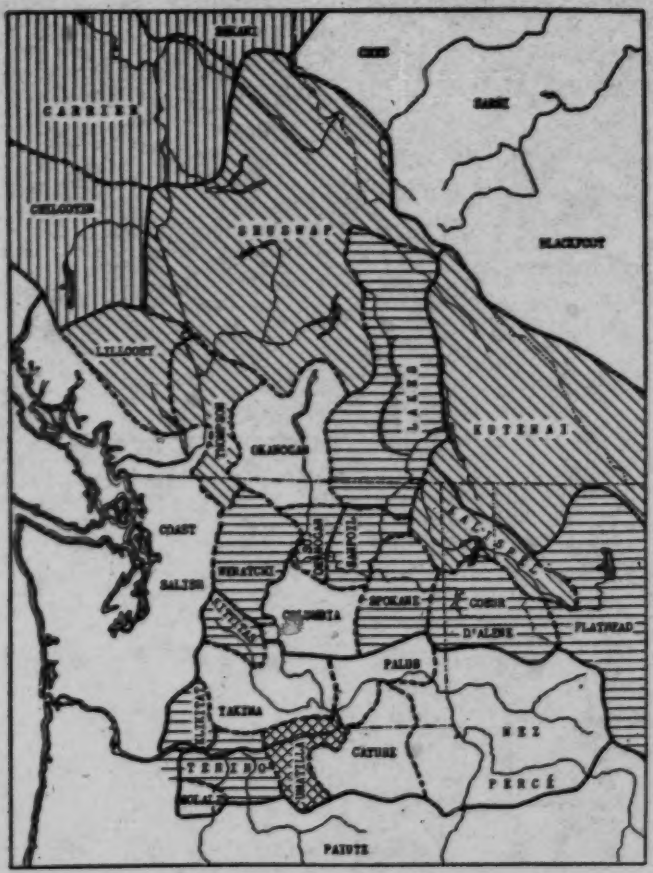
here is rather more historical than psychological, the classification of the native will be used regardless of other factors. Spier and Park have tackled this problem for regions to the south.[44] The data here will merely provide a northern extension. Among the Umatilla, not far



MAP 10. Types of quest experience. *Horizontal hatching:* vision only; *diagonal hatching:* vision, induced dream; *vertical hatching:* voluntary dream; *cross hatching:* vision, dream (involuntary?).

north of the Klamath, the pattern of the latter is maintained. That is, both the vision and dream are present. It is not certain that the particular phrasing is that of the Klamath, a quest followed by a dream

[44] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 250 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 108 ff.

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

Shaman versus Layman

An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

horse may have contributed somewhat to their present spirit of improvidence. The horses feed in large droves, each marked with some sign of ownership, generally by clipping the ears, and when required for use are taken by the lariat, in the use of which all the natives have some skill, though far inferior to the Mexican *vaqueros*. The method of breaking and training horses is a quick and an effectual one. It consists of catching and tying the animal; then buffalo-skins and other objects are thrown at and upon the trembling beast, until all its fear is frightened out of it. When willing to be handled, horses are treated with great kindness, but when refractory, the harshest measures are adopted. They are well trained to the saddle, and accustomed to be mounted from either side. They are never shod and never taught to trot. The natives are skillful riders, so far as the ability to keep their seat at great speed over a rough country is concerned, but they never ride gracefully, and rarely if ever perform the wonderful feats of horsemanship so often attributed to the western Indians. A loose girth is used under which to insert the knees when riding a wild horse. They are hard riders, and horses in use always have sore backs and mouths. Women ride astride, and quite as well as the men; children also learn to ride about as early as to walk.[189] Each nation has its superstitions; by each individual is recognized the influence of unseen powers, exercised usually through the medium of his medicine animal chosen early in life. The peculiar customs arising from this belief in the supernatural are not very numerous or complicated, and belong rather to the religion of these people treated elsewhere. The Pend d'Oreille, on approaching manhood,

[189] In moving, the girls and small boys ride three or four on a horse with their mothers, while the men drive the herds of horses that run loose ahead. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3, 306. Horses left for months without a guard, and rarely stray far. They call this 'caging' them. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 187, 47, 56. 'Babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., p. 130, with plate; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 404–5; *Palliser's Rept.*, p. 73; *Farnham's Trav.*, pp. 81–2; *Lommech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 64; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 365; *Franchère's Nar.*, pp. 269–71; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 110–11.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather 825 was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle.....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

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753 To repeat, the soul is the human animating force; the spirit is the non-human, extrinsic tutelary.

The soul loss disease concept is provocative in distribution and relationships. It is found generally among the Salish of the Canadian Plateau, and also among the Carrier and Sekani.[63] It is known to the Southern Okanogan in rather anomalous form.[64] But the Kutenai lack it, as do all other peoples of the southern area except the Tenino and Klikitat. These cases are easily explained. By their position and isolation their debt to the Coast is indicated. The northern block likewise derived their beliefs from the Coast with little doubt, but via the Fraser Valley. This statement is justified not only by the distribution but by the phrasing of the notion, which is typically coastal. But why, with streams of influence penetrating on both north and south, did the bulk of the American area remain so unequivocally free of it? Because the infiltration was very recent? It appears recent, but I do not believe this is the explanation, or at least the whole explanation. It is hardly mere coincidence that the distributions of soul loss and spirit loss are almost mutually exclusive. Further, where there is overlapping (in the north: Lower Thompson, Lillooet, Kalispel) there is marked confusion of the two ideas. It appears that in the Plateau the well-developed notion of spirit loss inhibited acceptance of the newer concept of soul loss, so closely parallel conceptually. "Why should we accept the distorted interpretations of foreigners; we already had the belief in true form!" This phrasing reflects very closely the reactions of natives to whom I have cautiously pointed out the concept of their coastal neighbors.

THE WINTER SPIRIT DANCE

Essential Characteristics and Inter-areal Relationships

535 776 796 The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance is the major religious ceremony of the Plateau, dwarfing all other rituals by comparison.[65] It forms an elaborate complex which is readily identifiable. It is a simple matter to ascertain its presence or absence for a particular group, so characteristic is the combination of elements. And yet those very elements, in their individual distributions, are highly variable and carry over first into one, and then another, adjacent area. The inter-areal relation-

[63] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 72.

[64] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 163.

[65] See Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 189–200; cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 112–18, 266 f.

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ship of these elements between the Plateau and the Plains is considered in the next section. The principal concern here will be intra-Plateau relationships together with certain coastal analogues.

As indicated, the Winter Dance complex does not fade out at the distributional borders but instead stops abruptly. Thus it is present among the Kalispel, absent among the Kutenai; observed by the Okanogan, unknown to the Thompson. Furthermore, the dance of the Klamath and that of a tribe as far distant as the Flathead show many similarities of detail as well as basic likeness. The principal features of the complex may be outlined as follows: recognition of mid-winter as the exclusive and proper period for guardian spirit ceremonialism; specific sponsorship by shaman or one possessing guardian spirit; participation open to all possessing spirits; attendance open to all; spirit singing with individual leadership; spirit dancing with individual leadership; power contests; shamanistic performances; specific duration of several days (usually determined by pattern number); held indoors; dancing at night; feast or presentation of gifts, or both. These are not presented as invariable criteria; indeed, several of the elements enumerated might be omitted without destroying the identity of the complex.

Certain of the features mentioned receive strong emphasis among all groups observing the dance. Spirit singing, dancing, and shamanistic performances are prominent among these. The singing of guardian spirit songs forms the very core of the ceremony, but dances invariably accompany the songs in the complex here observed. Shamanistic performances play a large role among some groups, but among others are of lesser significance. The Klamath dance has been called "The Shamanistic Performance,"[66] reflecting the importance of this aspect, but the Umatilla, not far distant, recognize the performances as but one among many features. Other less fundamental elements vary in like manner from tribe to tribe. But the surprising thing is that they are not more varied, as would be anticipated from other aspects of the cultures. It is this historical fixity upon which emphasis is here placed. The complex, to be sure, is made up of elements of ultimately diverse origin; it is not presented as a single organic unit.

The Spirit Dance in Relation to the Potlatch

Regardless of variant emphasis upon one or another element, the raison d'être of the Plateau dance is invariably clear and unblended. It

[66] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 112.

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is a spiritual ceremony pure and simple; the guardian spirit is the point of reference from whatever aspect viewed. In contrast, the comparable ceremony of the Quinault or Klallam of the Coast exhibits a dual basis, both conceptually and historically. Spirit singing is combined and integrated with the idea of the potlatch; the two cannot be treated separately. Thus, among the Klallam,

> A potlatch which is accompanied either with spirit singing or with a performance of the secret society is called l!a"anuk. This can take place either during the quiet-period or in the summer when the secret society ritual is held. At any of these potlatches there could be another performance of guardian spirit songs, in fact this is looked upon as one of the principal sources of entertainment [!]. If a man's wife or his son dances and sings during an evening's entertainment he will make gifts to all the men of the upper class who are present . . . to create good feeling and to display an individual's wealth.[87]

Of the Quinault we are told:

> In native theory an ordinary potlatch was in a way suggested by a man's guardian spirit. If a man had the "wealth spirit" the spirit would tell him "You had better throw (away) our money now. I (*i.e.*, the spirit) would like to see the people enjoy themselves and hear all the shamans sing their songs."[88]

These examples serve to place in clear relief the essential differences between the Winter Spirit Dance of the Plateau and the Spirit Singing-Potlatch of the Coast. The duality of purpose in the latter area is obvious. Furthermore, all of the following features of the Coast may differ from the Plateau: season, sponsorship, leadership of singing and dancing, nature of singing and dancing, power contests (absent), shamanistic performances (absent), and participation.

The historic diversity of the complexes of the Plateau and the Coast may be shown best by the case of the Lower Chinook. Here at the mouth of the Columbia River, where coastal and interior influences converge, both patterns are represented in clearly distinct forms.

The major religious ceremony is the guardian spirit dance. The time of the yearly dance is determined, to the native mind, by the period of spirit visitations, September until spring. Each dance occupies five days only, but many are held in various parts of Lower Chinook territory during the dance season. Dancers travel from one to another, other activities permitting. The dances are individually sponsored by

[87] Gunther, *Klallam Ethnography*, p. 306.
[88] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 124.

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persons with guardian spirit power. The uniform procedure (apart from initiation ritualism) consists of spirit singing and dancing by all of those possessing power. Shamanistic or power performances, though a part of the dance program, seem to be relatively unimportant.[69] In all details this pattern conforms to the outline for the Plateau.

Lower Chinook "potlatches," which are held only in summer or fall, differ in sponsorship, motivation, and program, but emphasize spirit singing and dancing. Despite the differences, the question may arise:

> Why segregate these practices from the guardian spirit performances, since the most specialized feature was spirit singing and dancing? The answer is two-fold: First, the Chinook themselves made a distinction. They seemed to feel that this was a basic and generalized pattern of social activity into which might be fitted any specialized or distinctly categorized procedure. This framework was not essential to the integrity of certain specific practices; as a result the aspects were separable, producing a false impression of analogy. Thus the guardian spirit dance was distinctly fitted into the framework, so well fitted, indeed, that it had become virtually inseparable. But to call one a function or analogue of the other would do violence to native theory.[70]

Objective differences, which constitute the second factor, run fairly parallel to those enumerated above in analysis of Klallam and Quinault practices.

The almost invariable association of gift-giving with the Spirit Dance demands further consideration.[71] Can this be interpreted as an attenuated form of the potlatch? (If so, a "dual purpose" emerges for Plateau as well as Coast, and statements above are contradicted.) I have argued against such an assumption, even from the point of view of the Lower Chinook.

> There exists a real question as to whether it is justifiable to segregate under a separate term those practices having to do with feasting and gift-giving, especially when that term is one as fraught with meaning as the word potlatch. . . . All of the signification of the typical potlatch was absent [in Lower Chinook ceremonialism]. Presents were distributed but return was in no sense obligatory, to say nothing of return with interest. If the supply of

[69] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 81–83

[70] *Idem*, p. 95; cf. Ray, *Historical Position*, pp. 368 ff.

[71] The Klamath may be the one exception: "One informant said that beside the speaker the dancers were paid for their assistance, but this was explicitly denied by others" (Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 115).

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gifts were limited the upperclassmen were favored, but if there were plenty all received share and share alike! . . . Wealth songs were wholly unknown. Leadership in singing and dancing was limited to those with spirit power; wealth or social status was no substitute. Ceremonial grouping was based on village affiliation, not wealth or lineage. Demonstration of superiority by the hosts and the shaming of guests was limited to such neutral demonstrations as grossness of appetite, and even here the hosts dared not go too far.[72]

Of the Quinault, Olson writes:

Quinault potlatches stand about midway in the scale between the simple wealth displays of the south and the exaggerated and complicated ceremonials of the northern tribes. . . . The fundamental elements are the desire to gain a moderate amount of social prestige—the element of rivalry scarcely enters. The giving of goods is almost as much a privilege or an obligation as the occasion of display of vanity. The feasting and games bulk large in the picture. It is a festival, a "good time" period, with the words of the guardian spirit best expressing its tone and the native conception of the institution: "Your had better throw (away) our money now. I would like to see the people enjoy themselves and to hear all the shamans sing their songs."[73]

Though Olson is impressed by the differences between Quinault potlatching and that of the British Columbia coast, the two are much more akin than Quinault and Lower Chinook practices. This fact must be emphasized because geographical relationships are apt to create a wrong impression here. Were I to have encountered practices among the Lower Chinook which even approached those of the Quinault, I would in consequence have argued as vigorously for specific northern connections as I now do for viewing the complex as the result of cultural overlay upon a temporally old and widespread pattern of feasting and gift-giving, linking the Coast and the Plateau.[74]

But let us turn to the Plateau and examine actual practices there. At the Spirit Dance of the Sanpoil,

Practically every person who sang his song and led a dance contributed presents for the distribution on the last day of the dance. When one went to the center pole a relative or helper carried the presents to the spokesman who placed them on a long pole provided for that purpose. Contributing presents was not compulsory, however. Tom [an informant] insisted that those who did not give were not looked down upon. "But it made one feel

[72] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, p. 93.
[73] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[74] Cf. Ray, *Historical Position*.

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better to give something away." Shamans, as a rule, gave more than laymen, and the sponsor of the dance gave most of all. . . . All those who had danced received presents. Those who had danced "hardest and best" were given the best ones. There was no prejudice against strangers in the bestowal. In fact, they were the first to receive presents. If the bulk of goods was very great, small gifts were sometimes presented to those who had not danced.[75]

Regarding the Wishram, we are told that the singers

gave some little things away; a few eagle feathers or some other articles they wore. A singer was not compelled to make gifts, but if he did not, he was classed as cheap, mean-minded, and selfish, and when such a one was hired to cure he was paid less than those who freely gave away their belongings. The belief was that one who gave freely knew that he had a strong spirit, would become a strong shaman when he was ready to practice, would secure the best of pay because he was more certain of a cure. Such a shaman could soon reimburse himself for the cost of these gifts.[76]

In describing the Spirit Dance of the Southern Okanogan, Cline speaks of the gift-giving feature as a "potlatch." However, his data not only belie the name, but are especially pertinent to the present inquiry. The general procedure parallels that of the Sanpoil. Like them, the host gave away more articles than anyone else.

These were a *reward to the people for helping him to control his power*, they were likewise regarded as *gifts to his guardian spirit*. It was believed that the spirit would compensate its generous protégé by a run of luck in gambling or hunting in the following summer. David said that a shaman who received a blanket or other gift at the dance did not feel obliged to make a return gift, for this was like "pay" to him for his singing and dancing, and that the giver regarded the gifts as a simple loss of property for the sake of his power.[77]

The relation is obvious between this point of view and that of the Wishram, as expressed above, but a further parallel appears with Flathead practice. Among the latter the audience does not receive the gifts; they are presented "to the center pole." Turney-High writes that on the last day of the ceremony a

dance is performed before the tree and *prayers to the guardians* are offered. As the night advances each person who has a wish prays and hangs a gift on

[75] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 196, 199. Through a serious typographical error in the original printing the word "not" was omitted in the phrase "were not looked down upon."

[76] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 242.

[77] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 151 f. Italics mine.

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the tree. . . . When everyone has hung his gift on the tree, the shamans ask if everyone has completed his wish. If so, they give the signal to a chosen man who wraps the tree in a robe as tightly as possible. This done, two youths seize the tree and, rushing down the two lines of dancers, flee with it to the wilderness where they hide it. No one is supposed to find the tree. But if it should accidentally be found, the finder must not touch it or remove any of the offerings or terrific misfortune would overtake him.[78]

The articles presented to the spirits via the center pole are merely tokens, without material value, such as bits of skin, feathers, and the like. This practice carries over into the Plains (see below); the selection of articles may represent a link with the Wishram. But especially interesting is the practice of disposing of the pole, which is paralleled among a number of Plateau groups. The Southern Okanogan, for example, carry the pole to the woods, where it is placed upright against a tree and abandoned.[79]

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We have thus followed gift-giving, as a feature of spirit ceremonies, from the one extreme of the typical potlatch to the other of purely spiritual tokens. One last observation may be added. A Lower Thompson informant explained gift-giving in this way, "The largest gifts are given to the people who have come the farthest from home. You see, it is more expensive for them to make the trip, so they ought to have more."

I cannot feel that these Plateau traits are mere vague reflections of the coastal potlatch. In form and function they differ as indicated. Furthermore, the elaborated potlatch of the northern Coast is probably a relatively recent development. But the gift-giving of the Plateau is deep-seated, locally varied, and undoubtedly old. I dare say that no area in America would fail to show some example of gift-giving as close to the potlatch in form as most of Plateau practices.

And yet I do not argue that the two are historically unrelated. Each seems to be an areal specialization upon a long existing custom of gift-giving; the unique coastal specialization being by far the more elaborate. Furthermore, a certain amount of secondary diffusion of superficial elements has ensued. The ceremonial approach of the Lower Chinook may be cited; also, the formal nature of the distribution among Plateau groups near the Coast.

To be sure, the term potlatch might be applied to this simple sub-

[78] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, pp. 40 f. Italics mine.
[79] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 147.

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stratum of gift-giving. But I do not think anyone wants to do this; it certainly would be confusing. The word would, in consequence, be applicable to cultures in any part of the world. Certainly Olson is not arguing for such a meaning when he contrasts the potlatch of the Quinault with that of the Kwakiutl:

> In the potlatches of the Kwakiutl and neighboring tribes the features of bitter rivalry, high rates of interest, destruction of goods, fictitious values, and the "fighting with wealth" stand out as pathological social patterns. . . . I mention these points for the reason that the potlatch of the Kwakiutl has long been regarded as typifying the whole potlatch system of the area. Actually it is an extreme type, an example of the lengths to which an institution may be carried. A potlatch like that of the Quinault is far more likely to turn out to be the proto-type. Its pattern remains fairly simple; no deeplaid plots, no egotistical mania surround its inception and execution.[80]

But it does involve formal invitations in order of social position, large accumulations of wealth, primary interest in quantity and distribution, a wealth tallyman, rehearsals, and wealth songs. But more important than all this, perhaps, is the fact that the gifts represented the *wealth of the host* and marked his social position; in distinct contrast to the Plateau where the gifts were *provided by the guests* as well as the host, and the amount furnished by the latter was no reflection of rank.

In a recent study Barnett has attempted to present sufficient evidence in its proper perspective to contribute to a better understanding of the potlatch:

> Above all, the present summary points to a more refined and definitive concept, and consequently to a more circumspect use of the term. It signifies not simply an exchange of gifts, for that custom is too widespread and diversely associated to be the criterion of the potlatch. Neither is the latter fundamentally competitive. It is characterized by certain formal requirements, by an implied equation of social worth with institutionalized liberality, and by its function as a vehicle for publicizing social status.[81]

We have been carried far afield from the discussion of the Spirit Dance as such, but may profitably remain afield for the moment. Lower Chinook ceremonies throw light upon the history of yet another aspect of spirit ceremonialism and of the potlatch: the secret society of the Coast.

[80] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 129.
[81] Barnett, *Nature of the Potlatch*, p. 357.

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The Secret Society

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We have seen that among the Klallam the potlatch may be combined with either spirit singing or secret society rituals, and to either combination the same name is applied. Again, among the Quinault the secret society rituals are sometimes associated with the potlatch.[82] But the Lower Chinook society is cast in the mold of the spirit dance and well integrated with the spirit concept.

> Eligibility to membership depended upon two factors, upper class status and the possession of a "secret society guardian spirit." The latter phrasing merely implied spirit instruction to join the society plus the conveyance of the necessary type of power. Such power was obtained in exactly the same fashion as any other. It consisted of the ability to inflict self-torture, followed by miraculous recovery. . . . The externals of [the initiation of the novice] were identical with the guardian spirit initiation.[83]

These parallels, as well as the absence of the society-potlatch combination, are undoubtedly due to indirect influences from the Plateau. The nature of the Lower Chinook Spirit Dance and much of the guardian spirit complex points to the interior. The Plateau has thus indirectly affected the local form of a typically Northwest Coast institution entirely unknown to it. Even as far northward as the Quinault, the "society" is considered a special kind of spirit, obtainable in the same fashion as any other, but it is not stated that possession of this spirit is essential to membership.[84]

The Spirit Singing of Puget Sound

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On Puget Sound spirit singing is frequent during the winter season, but available data are insufficient to establish the exact nature of the ceremony, or the structural relationship with the Spirit Dance of the Plateau. The actual spirit singing and dancing follow the Plateau pattern, but whether such activities are ever entirely divorced from the potlatch is uncertain. The latter is fairly well developed in typical form. According to Haeberlin

> The potlatch was a great feast given primarily for the distribution of gifts to the guests. Each person receiving gifts at such an occasion was under obligation to his host to invite him to his next potlatch and to give him an adequate gift in return. . . . If a man received one blanket, at his own potlatch he re-

[82] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, p. 121.
[83] Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 89 f.
[84] Olson, *Quinault Indians*, pp. 120 f.

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turned two or three. . . . The sgwē'gwē' ["cultus potlatch" in Chinook jargon: "bad potlatch"] was held in summer when the salmon began to run. It could only be given by a man having the [wealth] spirit and was given in a potlatch house. . . . At this affair everyone tried to show the "power" he had. One man swallowed hot bullets and made them come out at his side.[85]

This indicates intimate relationship between the potlatch and spirit ceremonialism. However, the winter season was set apart for ceremonies specifically revolving around spirit singing.

Any time from the middle of November to the beginning of January a man's guardian spirit came back to him and urged him to sing his spirit songs and perform his dance. . . . Then he would call his friends together and they helped him sing and dance. . . . These dances varied greatly in length, for a man sang as long as his spirit commanded him to do so, often several days. At this dance no shaman was present.[86]

The absence of shamans clearly sets this apart from the Plateau dance, as well as the variable duration and the limitation of sponsorship to those experiencing the return of a spirit. Lummi practices seem to lie intermediate between those of lower Puget Sound and those of the Klallam. But the data are so non-definitive as to prohibit any specific interpretations.[87]

Intra-areal Relations

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Though the Winter Guardian Spirit Dance emerges as a highly typical Plateau complex, it is not found throughout the area. Indeed, as implied above, it is quite as definitely absent in the northern part of the region as in the Plains or on the Coast. It is shared uniformly by all central and southern Plateau groups, namely, the Klamath, Wishram,[88] Tenino, Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé,[89] Yakima, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Columbia, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Lakes, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kalispel, and Okanogan. This is the familiar affiliation when a north-south contrast is found. The participation of the Klamath in this distribution is of marked significance since the Spirit Dance is quite unknown to the Basin and California. The sub-area of greatest integration and specialization appears to be the middle Columbia (Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil). This

[85] Haeberlin and Gunther, *Indians of Puget Sound*, pp. 59 f.
[86] *Idem*, p. 61.
[87] Stern, *Lummi Indians*, pp. 54 ff.
[88] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240–44.
[89] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 262–64.

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177 796 is near the northern limits of distribution and indicates that Canadian tribes have been quite unreceptive, since knowledge of the elaborations of their neighbors must certainly have penetrated to them. The apparent inferior development of the Spirit Dance among northern Sahaptin

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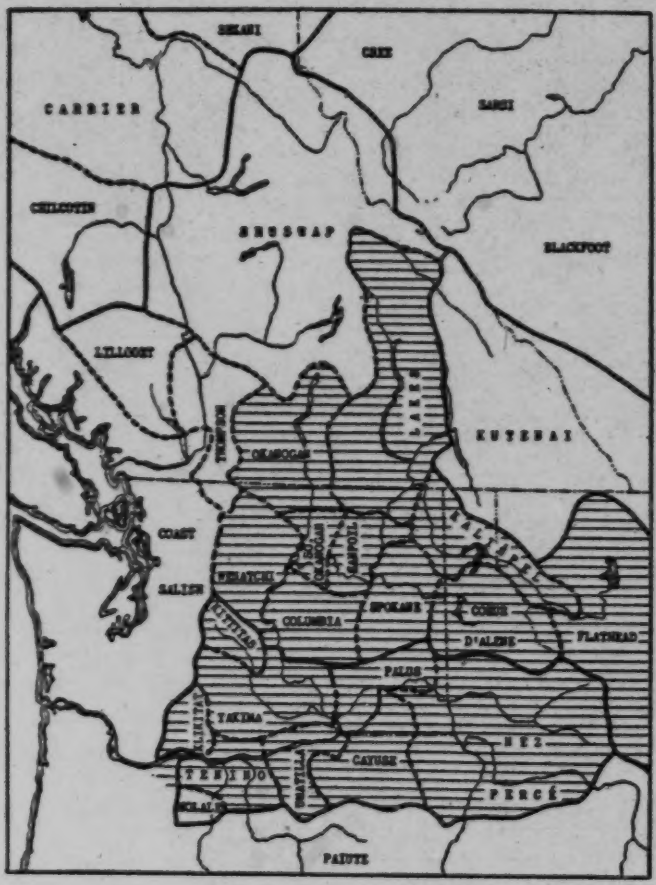

MAP 16. The Winter Guardian Spirit Dance.

177 796 tribes may be due to the fragmentary nature of our information; caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions. It is quite possible that the dance was equally as well developed as among the Salish prior to destructive Plains influence.

It should be emphasized that the approach in Spier's pioneering dis-

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cussion of the Winter Performance was fundamentally different from that adopted here.[90] Spier was interested in indicating the possible Northwest Coast source for certain of the *constituent elements* of the Spirit Dance. He emphasized particularly the season and the repossession by guardian spirits. The soundness of his suggestions is indicated by their unanimous acceptance on the part of subsequent field workers. But here the object has been to place in relief the essential nature of the Plateau complex, not to seek the origin of foreign elements. On the other hand, the indigenous nature of certain elements appears. Indeed, the Northwest Coast trait of possession, especially as a criterion of sponsorship, is found to be atypical (see above).

Associated Practices

A number of closely associated practices demand attention. Initiation of the novice, for example, forms an intimate part of the ceremony among certain groups. Spier points out that

> There are two types of inaugural dance, so far as function is concerned: the demonstration type of Oregon and the control type of northern California. . . . From a wider point of view, the control dance of northern California and the Wishram case link with the southern part of the Northwest Coast proper. A feature of repossession during the winter sacred period of the northern tribes is the overpowering strength of the spirit which makes its possesser "ill" until he is relieved by dancing. . . . This is precisely what is at the bottom of the north Californian control dances, although the sickness is due to an agent of another sort.[91]

The initiation feature is present among all Plateau groups observing the dance except the Flathead and, apparently, the Nez Percé.[92] In a number of cases, however, the routine of initiation is present but no particular function is served beyond that of formal introduction of the novice (Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Umatilla, Klikitat ?, and Tenino ?). In all other instances it is essentially the control type, as opposed to the demonstration type of the Klamath. Since the control initiation is found throughout coastal Oregon[93] (bearing out Spier's presumption) the Plateau obviously participates in a far flung trait linking northern California and the Northwest Coast. The logical route of contact with

[90] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 266 f.
[91] *Idem*, pp. 260 f.
[92] It is not mentioned in Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*.
[93] Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 188.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.]To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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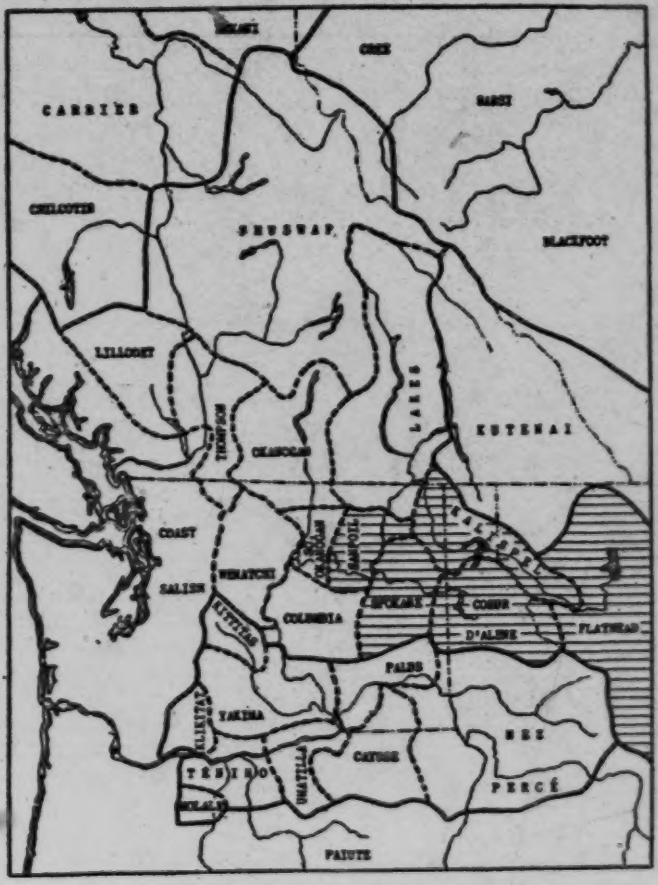
became the spirits." But in the new era the dominant form became that of the animal; the man-like form was taken only when in communion with men. Human beings appeared at the same time, inheriting as their form the prevalent form of the previous beings. But men did not receive the power to reciprocate with their spirits and appear in animal form. This was possible, in modification,



MAP 17. The Bluejay complex.

only in ceremonial identification. This identification was not an amalgamation or substitution, but a reversion to the conceptualized form of the mythological being.[86]

Such transformation is peculiarly the prerogative of persons with

[86] Ray, *Bluejay Character*, pp. 594 f.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[96] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[96] Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes'sakkĭd' is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man'idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes'sakkĭd', and through him, with numerous other malevolent man'idōs, especially the Animiki', or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkid' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

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may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

The Flathead Spirit Dance

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Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'ł, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛlwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (q̓le·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance*.
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

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This formal preliminary period is of four days duration. Each day sweating and singing occupies the mid-afternoon hours. A special sweat house is built for the purpose, holding twelve to fifteen occupants. During the first days the location and other details concerning the lodge are settled, the sponsor selects the center pole and designates one or two men to bring it in, and he names others to prepare the lodge poles. The leader determines the direction and manner in which the strokes should be made in cutting the pole. The expedition is surrounded by ritual practices. Spirit cries are given before actually felling the tree. In bringing it to camp it is carried aloft, never being allowed to touch the ground. From the time this tree is brought in, the sponsor keeps careful watch over it, and over the lodge poles as well, so that their "spirits will not be stolen." During the preparatory period gambling is tabu and feasting is absent. Spirit songs precede each meal because this is an especially vulnerable period. Shamans observe a limited fast.

The dance lodge is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. This is of the elongated tipi type, being constructed of materials taken from several residential lodges. Upon completion, the leader erects the center pole by fixing it in the ground. The upper limbs of the tree are allowed to remain.

At dusk on the fourth evening the sponsor enters the lodge, singing. Meanwhile, in their individual tipis, the others are dressing and painting for the dance. In each tipi, if possible, a shaman is in attendance to ward off harmful influences. Soon the dancers appear at the dance house, men and women taking places on opposite sides of the room. When all have arrived the leader changes his song and dancing follows. He leads the singing and dancing from his position at the center pole, keeping time with a rattle of deer hoofs fixed to the upper end of a vertically held wand. Drums are not used. All of those in attendance join in the singing and dancing, children included. In speaking to the audience the sponsor and all shamans are served by spokesmen.

After a time the sponsor gives way to another who leads the singing and dancing in similar fashion. Each shaman is given an opportunity to lead. Unnecessary conversation, laughing, eating, and smoking are all tabu except for occasional ritual smoking and talking. Shamans may confer, however, concerning visions and a shaman may describe his visions to the audience. Color and variation are added to the dancing by symbolic regalia and actions and spirit impersonations. The dancing of the evening is ended by a dance in which the participants encircle

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the room four times. The dancers return to their lodges but the leader remains.

During the sweating on the afternoon of the fifth day the sponsor announces, "Tonight we shall put out the fires for the Bluejays." Dancers prepare as before, but some paint black spots on their cheeks before going to the dance lodge. The dancing and singing follow the pattern of the preceding evening, until the leader returns to the center pole and shouts, "Now we shall call the Bluejays." A series of four songs is sung; during the last one the dancers utter animal cries and stamp out the fires. A great deal of noise and whistling ensues. Within two or three minutes the leader orders the fires rebuilt. As the fires illuminate the room, several dancers are seen to be absent. The leader addresses the audience (through his spokesman) at intervals during singing: "Our Bluejays will soon be coming; don't laugh at them when they appear."

The Bluejay characters appear with faces, hands, and clothing blackened. These are the ones who earlier painted black spots on the cheeks. Each possesses Bluejay power, the sole requirement for this activity. The characters carry miniature bows and arrows, crudely fabricated during the few moments of absence. They jump and run about erratically, climb onto the rafters of the lodge, and utter shrill, bird-like cries. Some leave the lodge and return with wood for the fires; others fetch water. The audience may now drink, laugh, and converse. Soon the dancing resumes. The dancing is normal except for the Bluejay characters. They sing a song of their own which conflicts in tempo with the dance song, and dance wildly about with no respect for order or time.

One may ask for a pipe. As he smokes, puff by puff, he shouts, "One year; two years; three years," and so forth, until six or seven is reached. This is apparently to speed the passing of time. As the characters dance about they pick up all small articles, such as feathers, strings, and twigs, that are found on the ground. These are secreted in the clothing. Later, a normal dancer may call out, "Let us kill the Bluejay." One or more may be selected in this way: a dancer approaches the character, saying, "Friend, let me care for your property." The Bluejay protests, but after repeated entreaties he gives up, one by one, the articles retrieved from the floor. As his "possessions" are diminished he circles about, faster and faster, shouting, "I'm rich; I'm rich," but meaning, "I'm poor; I'm destitute." Finally, when nothing else is left, he gives up his bow and arrows. Now the dancers say, "Bluejays,

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sing for us that we may dance." During the erratic dancing to the irregular singing of the Bluejays, a predetermined dancer grasps the "destitute" character around the waist, a struggle ensues, and finally the Bluejay "dies." He is held head downward, feet in air, by his captor, while the dancers gather round. A smudge is prepared of sweet grass, sometimes mixed with a particular root, and the character is held over it. This brings him to life in normal condition. The black paint is washed off and he once more takes his place among the dancers. He becomes the center of attention as he tells of his "wanderings" while a Bluejay. Thereafter he dances as a normal individual. Some of the characters are allowed to remain untransformed until the following evening. The dance is concluded as on the fourth night.

The evening of the sixth day opens as usual with spirit singing and dancing. Later the ill come for treatment by the remaining Bluejay characters, or by ordinary shamans. These curing procedures are highly ritualized and brief. The power of the Bluejay to cure is restricted, since it is but an attribute of the supernatural form possessed at the moment, together with the power inherent in the center pole. It does not carry over in any way to the individual in normal state. The bulk of the curing associated with the Spirit Dance occurs during the daytime on the seventh day. At this time the services of regular shamans are available.

The dancing and singing of the seventh evening follow the pattern of the fifth night except that wishes for future good fortune are expressed upon the completion of each dance. At a signal by the leader, a shake of his rattle, all present give simultaneous verbal expression to their individual wishes. Sometimes the leader calls for the expression of a particular wish in unison, for example, "Throughout the following year may we have no illness that will cause us to lose blood."

[431]

Toward the end of the evening the leader calls for presents to the center pole. Each person takes some small token to the pole and expresses a wish as he deposits it. Along with these gifts are placed the clothing torn from the Bluejay characters at the time of transformation. Now a dance ensues during which the leader shakes his rattle first toward one person and then another. The dancer indicated approaches the tree, gives it a slight tug, and expresses a wish. With the conclusion of the dance the leader pulls the pole from the ground and places it in the care of two or three dancers.

On the following morning the crowd assembles; the pole, together

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with the presents, is removed from the dance lodge and carried into the woods by those to whom its care was entrusted. The latter return shortly to the dance lodge and a period of indiscriminate dancing occurs while the lodge is dismantled, thus ending the ceremony.[104]

THE RELATION OF THE SUN DANCE TO THE SPIRIT DANCE

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In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that the Guardian Spirit Dance is not wholly unrelated to the Sun Dance. But the conviction has been born of reminiscent details and general impressions; substantial and sufficient data for the demonstration of the relationship have been lacking. It has long been known, however, that one Plateau tribe, the Kutenai, shares the Sun Dance with its Plains neighbors, the Blackfoot and the Sarsi. But beyond the bare fact of possession, we have remained quite ignorant. Until very recently we have suffered an equal lack of knowledge of the Flathead, who adjoin the Kutenai on the south and are the easternmost of the Plateau tribes. It has been generally assumed, however, that the Flathead did not participate in the Sun Dance. The Nez Percé, who lie south of the Flathead and are the southernmost of the Plateau tribes bordering the Plains, definitely lack the Sun Dance.

Obviously, then, the Kutenai and the Flathead are the groups indicated for study if the ceremonial relationship suggested for the larger areas is to be critically examined.

But before presenting specific data it may be well to review certain general features of the Plateau Spirit Dance which have a bearing on the problem. Superficially, the Guardian Spirit Dance exhibits very few similarities to the Sun Dance. The dance is invariably held in the winter, and actual dancing occurs only at night. The dances usually extend over a period of two months, though they are divided into units of four or five days. Sponsorship is typically the prerogative of shamans, though laymen may act as nominal sponsors at the time of initiation. All persons with spirit power participate; others act as spectators. All dances, songs, and individualistic regalia are symbolic of the various spirits of the dancers. As far as motivation may be generalized, it is concerned with the creation of a more intimate bond between a man and his tute-

[104] The relationship of this complex and its elements to the comparable ceremonies of other Plateau groups is discussed in Ray, *Bluejay Character;* the relation with the Sun Dance is considered in the following section of this paper.

TABLE 2. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPICAL ASPECTS OF PLATEAU RELIGIOUS LIFE*

	Aspects	Klamath	Nez Percé	Umatilla	Tenino	Wishram	Klikitat	Kittitas	Wenatchi	S. Okanogan	Sanpoil	Coeur d'Alène	Kalispel	Flathead	Kutenai	Thompson	Shuswap	Lillooet	Chilcotin	Carrier
Guardian spirit quest	All boys, some girls sent																			
	Pre-puberty																			
	Puberty especially																			
	Given object to deposit at destination																			
	Object of quest indefinite																			
	One night vigils																			
	Prolonged vigils																			
	Vision																			
	Spirit appears as human being																			
	Spirit appears as animal																			
	Spirit may convey any type of power																			
	Inheritance through instruction to spirit																			
	Reticence toward revealing power																			
	Identical quest and vision for shaman and layman																			
Illness	Intrusive spirit																			
	Spirit causes intrusion of object																			
	Spirit loss																			
	Treatment by drawing out process																			
	Shaman served by spokesman																			
	Spirit-ghost concept																			
	Ghost is flame-like																			
	Winter Guardian Spirit Dance																			
	Bluejay complex																			
	Sweat House as deity																			
	First Salmon ceremony																			
	First Products ceremony																			

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lary, the impersonation of spirits, and a symbolic recall of mythological times.

A description of the Kutenai Sun Dance is now in order. The following sketch is incomplete, but incorporates the details most pertinent to this problem.

The dance, which is a tribal ceremony, is held once each year in the spring and lasts for six days. The leader is one experiencing, during the preceding year, an auditory vision or dream of the Sun Dance song. When the time for the dance draws near the leader requests his wife to prepare the Sun Dance doll, a six inch male figure made of buckskin stuffed with grass or deer hair. Two eagle feathers, symbolic of the dance, are placed in the hair at the back of the head. During the preparation of the image, the leader each day smokes himself by standing over a smudge of juniper. When finished the doll is placed at the head of the leader's bed where it remains until the fourth day of the ceremony. The leader now selects an assistant who becomes the master of ceremonies.

This selection inaugurates the three day preparatory period preceding the dance proper. Men are now chosen by the leader to bring in the center pole. The actual tree is selected by the assistant, who follows the dictates of the leader as revealed to the latter by his guardian spirit. Those chosen fell the marked tree, taking care to use the direction and number of strokes requested by the leader, again as determined in his dream. While returning to camp, the tree is not permitted to touch the ground. Upon arrival the limbs are removed, the bark peeled, and this refuse burned. The pole is painted and then placed on supports to keep it above the ground until time of erection. At the same time, others prepare the four foundation poles for the dance lodge, together with the supplementary poles. The preparatory period ends with the digging of the hole for the center pole.

The morning of the fourth day is occupied by sweating; the afternoon with the actual erection of the lodge. This is a tipi of usual type, but exceptionally large, requiring three ordinary covers to enclose it.

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* The table presents traits of religious life typical of the Plateau but not necessarily exclusive to it. See footnote to Table 1, page 67, for general explanation of charts.

For a type description of the shamanistic "drawing-out process," see Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 205.

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796 Even so it is not large enough for all spectators; the lower edge of the cover is rolled up so that some may stand outside. First the center pole is raised to position. The assistant, clad only in a blanket, steps onto the fork of the poles. The frame is raised a few feet from the ground, then lowered; a second time it is raised higher but once more brought down; on the third attempt it is elevated to full height. The assistant, who has stood in the fork with arms outstretched during this procedure, now ties the center pole to the frame and descends on one of the poles. In the meantime the leader has called upon the Crazy Dog Society to obtain the lodge covering. The members arbitrarily select three tipis in the camp circle and strip them of their covers. These are delivered to the site of the lodge where others attach them to the frame. Throughout these activities spectators are present and engage in singing.

Inside the lodge a bed is prepared for the leader. As viewed from the doorway this is located behind and just to the left of the center pole. To the right of the foot of the bed, or near end, is constructed a tiny model of a sweat lodge, only a few inches high. Between this and the center pole a miniature smudge of juniper twigs is prepared but not lighted. All is now in readiness for the dance.

Just at dusk the assistant enters the leader's tipi and secures the doll. Carrying it, he circumambulates the tipi and then the camp circle. Upon returning to the door of the tipi he proceeds directly to the dance lodge where he places the doll in an upright position at the right of the smudge. The leader now enters and walks around the edge of the lodge to his bed where he sits down. Next the musicians enter and take their positions at the back of the lodge. These include several drummers and three whistlers. The latter stand directly behind the leader with the drummers at their left. With the beating of the drums, the dancers and audience appear. They walk in file to the smudge which has now been lighted. Some throw small fragments of juniper on the smudge. Those who are well return by the same route to positions near the door, while the ailing continue to the opposite side of the lodge. All the circuits are made in clockwise order. During this procession a song to the smudge is sung, called the "song of the dance." Great care is taken that the smudge be kept burning uniformly from the time first lighted until the end of the ceremony. The woman selected for this task remains constantly beside the fire.

When the whole group has assembled, the shamans dance toward the center pole. Each carries an object such as a feather, symbolic of his

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guardian spirit, with which he strokes the pole, now full of sickness because the doll has effected the transfer to it of the ailments of the individuals. The shamans make downward motions on the pole while dancing around it and singing. After a time they attempt to remove the sickness from the bottom where it has been concentrated. As this is gradually achieved the shamans one by one fall helpless to the ground. Members of the audience pick them up and hold them over the smudge in order to revivify them and destroy the sickness. 796

If the attempted removal proves futile the dancers have visions of guns or bows, symbolic of failure. The sickness then remains with the afflicted and another attempt must be made on a later day.

Activity at the pole is sometimes directed at other aspects of tribal welfare. For example, the dancers may attempt to draw game to the pole so that hunting during the succeeding year may be especially productive.

During these performances the dancers are engaged in singing and do not interpret their actions. The leader, however, acts as spokesman for the doll and informs the audience of the success of the shamans. All the while the drummers and whistlers are active. Their lot is a strenuous one, for not only must they perform constantly during the all-night ceremonies but they are not permitted to sleep and must abstain almost completely from food and water. The leader is subjected to unqualified abstinence but he is quite inactive, remaining on his bed throughout. Stationed beside the leader and also each whistler is a lad whose duty it is to walk behind his charge whenever the lodge is left and sweep off his tracks with a broom of branches.

The fifth morning is spent in sweating, the afternoon in preparations for the dance at night. The dance program is identical with that of the fourth night. But at dawn, as the leader starts a new song, the assistant takes the doll and leaves the dance lodge, following, in reverse order, the procedure of bringing it in, After the circuit of the leader's house he "lets the image go," to use the native phrasing. The actual disposal is never revealed. The assistant returns to the dance house and joins the others in a secular dance which serves to terminate the ceremony. Animal hearts and tongues, saved for a long time previously, have been prepared and a great feast is now held. Afterwards the lodge is dismantled and the groups disband.

A Kutenai Sun Dance leader must officiate for three consecutive years or invite death. Votary leadership is apparently unknown, though

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796 a warrior may call upon the sun for help in an emergency. Sun gazing and self-torture have no place in the ceremony.

Leaving the Kutenai temporarily, we may turn to the Spirit Dance of the Flathead. Impressive evidence points to a relationship with the Sun Dance. There is no question of general classification: the Flathead dance is cast in the general mold of the Spirit Dance and revolves around spirit singing; it is not a Sun Dance. But the suggestive analogues with the Sun Dance—analogues which the Flathead share with many other Plateau peoples—deserve careful attention.

First I shall cite parallels with the Kutenai Sun Dance, abbreviating the references as much as possible. The leader receives his commission in a spirit vision; if more than one man has experienced a vision a mutual discussion ensues and one of the number is selected. A four day preparatory period is followed by a four day dance period. Preparations include daily sweating during which dance plans are discussed, arrangement of the dance grounds, and procurement of the center pole. The leader selects the tree and appoints those who are to bring it in; he dictates the manner in which it is to be cut and warns that it must not touch the ground. The lodge, of the elongated tipi type, is erected on the afternoon of the fourth day. The frame is assembled and raised, followed immediately by the setting of the center pole. The poles and covering are taken from several dwelling lodges. At dusk of the same day the leader enters the lodge singing and takes his appointed place. Later the dancers and audience appear and enter in ritual order. The dancers carry whistles. The leader stands at the center pole while the dancers circulate around it. On the fifth and sixth nights, smudges of sweet grass are prepared for the revivification of certain of the dancers (Bluejays). The sick attend the dance and are treated by the leader and other dancers. The curative power at this time lies in the center pole and is merely utilized by the dancers. On the evening of the eighth day the leader announces that "it is time to let the tree go," and dancers are named to take charge of it. The tree is carried into the forest, a secular song is sung, the lodge is dismantled, and a feast concludes the ceremony.

177 796 These parallels, though impressive, do not exhaust the Plateau traits duplicating those of the Sun Dance. We find numerous further analogues among nearby Plains tribes. The Flathead, in common with many other Plateau groups, allow the uppermost limbs to remain on

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the center pole. This practice is unquestionably related to the placing of a brush bundle at the top of the pole by most of the Plains tribes, including the neighboring Crow and Blackfoot. Indeed, the Sanpoil speak of the limbs as the perch for "Owl," analogous to the "hawk's nest" of the Sarsi, the "bird's nest" of the Crow, and the "thunderer's nest" of many of the Canadian Plains tribes. The Plains Ojibwa, at least, do in fact leave the upper limbs as a part of the nest.[105]

A relation is apparent between the raising of a dancer in the fork of the lodge poles or nest in order that he may tie the center pole to the frame (Kutenai and others) and the Sanpoil dance ritual in which the leader climbs the center pole and ties the top to a cross beam with his belt. Also, a connection between this feature and the Bluejay complex can be seen: thus among the Crow it is the "bird man" who is raised; during the procedure he imitates the antics of his Eagle guardian, whistling and pretending to fly. Certain Shoshoni dancers "imitate magpies and rush up to a pile of meat, making the noise of crows or magpies, greedily snatching away what food they can, and falling all over themselves in their eagerness." These actions almost exactly duplicate those of the Bluejay dancers among the Flathead, Coeur d'Alêne, and Sanpoil.[106]

The offerings of cloth and other small objects made to the tree by the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Shoshoni, Plains Cree, and many other Plains groups, is likewise paralleled by the Flathead on the last morning of the dance, to the accompaniment of a song of blessing. This corresponds very closely to Blackfoot and Plains Cree practice.[107]

Smudging plays a very important role in the Spirit Dances of Canadian Plateau groups. Among many of these the material used is juniper, as with the Kutenai; but the Flathead and Spokane favor sweet grass, as in the Plains.[108]

Ritual "talking in opposites" characterizes the Bluejay dancers of the Colville and Flathead. The self-torture dancers in the Sun Dance of the Sarsi also speak with reverse meaning.[109] This custom is not by

[105] Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Crow*, p. 37; Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 254; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 191; Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 279; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Ojibway*, p. 313.

[106] Ray, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 399; Skinner, *Sun Dance of the Plains-Cree*, p. 307.

[107] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249; Goddard, *loc. cit.*; Lowie, *Sun Dance of the Wind River Shoshoni*, p. 403; Skinner, *loc. cit.*

[108] Cf. Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 238.

[109] Goddard, *Sun Dance of the Sarsi*, p. 280; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 162.

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any means limited to the Sarsi, however, being found widespread in the Plains in various connections, and occurs in the Southwest also.

The name applied to the dance by the Flathead is significant; it refers specifically to the lodge itself. The same pattern of naming is found among the nearby Gros Ventre and the more distant Arapaho and Arikara.[110]

Flathead Bluejay dancers are identified by black spots painted on the cheeks and, later, blackened faces and bodies; in this they align with other Plateau Bluejay characters, for all use black face or body paint. The Blackfoot in their Sun Dance follow the specific style of the Flathead, while other Plains tribes use black in a more general way.[111]

Dancing for weather control, as among the Blackfoot and several Canadian Plains tribes, is found universally as a feature of the Spirit Dance in the Plateau. However, this, together with shamanistic curing, may be too general in nature to justify their use as criteria of relationship.[112]

Many other convincing parallels could be added, but those enumerated may serve to indicate the depth and intimacy of the relationships.

Either of two historical interpretations is possible. The two great ceremonies may be regional variations upon one theme, or the two may be basically distinct and the resemblances merely represent superficial borrowings consequent upon long contact. The latter alternative seems the more probable, despite the quantity and impressive nature of the parallels.[113] In most cases these are elements which rather readily lend themselves to separation or addition to the basic ceremonial complex. But it must be remembered that the "basic complex" of the Sun Dance is not easy to define. To a marked degree the ceremony is a concatenation of fairly discrete elements.

The Spirit Dance, on the other hand, is a highly integrated complex with the whole philosophy and content of the spirit concept at its base. Even the Bluejay adjunct is a compact whole thoroughly in accord with

[110] Noted in Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, p. 463. Exhaustive distributions for most of the elements discussed in the present chapter are to be found in Spier's survey.

[111] Wissler, *Sun Dance of the Blackfoot*, p. 249.

[112] Cf. *idem*, pp. 258–60.

[113] This interpretation was suggested and favored by Dr Robert Lowie when this chapter was read before the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at New Haven, December 29, 1937.

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the larger concept.[114] Does this indicate a stability greater than that of the Sun Dance? I am doubtful. The process of interchange has doubtless proceeded but slowly; slowly enough to permit the orderly-minded Plateau peoples to keep pace with rationalization and integration, but steadily enough to produce profound effects.

[114] See above.

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226 strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day [624] by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a month before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in 221 most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, 226 between June and September, varying a month or more 527 according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble 796 to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[163]

226 [163] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 238; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 307–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Klikatats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur camps.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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justice, but readily appeased by kind treatment; cruel only to captive enemies, stoical in the endurance of torture; devotedly attached to home and family; these natives probably come as near as it is permitted to flesh-and-blood savages to the traditional noble red man of the forest, sometimes met in romance. It is the pride and boast of the Flathead that his tribe has never shed the blood of a white man. Yet none, whatever their tribe, could altogether resist the temptation to steal horses from their neighbors of a different tribe, or in former times, to pilfer small articles, wonderful to the savage eye, introduced by Europeans. Many have been nominally converted by the zealous labors of the Jesuit Fathers, or Protestant missionaries; and several nations have greatly improved, in material condition as well as in character, under their change of faith. As Mr Alexander Ross remarks, "there is less crime in an Indian camp of five hundred souls than there is in a civilized village of but half that number. Let the lawyer or moralist point out the cause."

bors on account of their courage and warlike spirit.' Walla Wallas 'notorious as thieves since their first intercourse with whites.' 'Indolent, superstitious, drunken and debauched. Character of Flatheads, Pend d'Oreilles, Umatillas. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 207–9, 211, 218, 223, 282, 1861, pp. 164–5. Yakimas and Kliketats 'much superior to the river Indians.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 298, 403, 416, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 139. Wascos 'exceedingly vicious.' *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 169. The Nez Percés 'are, certainly, more like a nation of saints than a horde of savages.' Skyuses, Walla Wallas. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, pp. 101, 287, 289–90, 300. Tushepaws; *Irving's Astoria*, p. 316. Thompson River Indians rather a superior and clever race. *Victoria Colonist*, Oct., 1860. 'Indians from the Rocky mountains to the falls of Columbia, are an honest, ingennous, and well disposed people,' but rascals below the falls. *Gass' Jour.*, p. 304. Flathead 'fierceness and barbarity in war could not be exceeded.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Flatheads, Walla Wallas and Nez Percés; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, pp. 171, 219. Kootenais; *Palliser's Explor.*, pp., 44, 73. Salish, Walla Wallas; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. i., p. 88, vol. ii., p. 64. Walla Wallas, Cayuses, and Nez Percés; *White's Oregon*, p. 174. Walla Wallas, Kootenais; *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 85, 178. Flatheads, Nez Percés; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311, 315, 326–8. Nez Percés; *Catlin's N. Am. Ind.*, vol. ii., p. 109; *Franchère's Nar.*, p. 268. Kayuses, Walla Wallas; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 156. Sahaptins; *Wilkes' Hist. Ogn.*, p. 106. Nez Percés; *Hastings' Emigrants' Guide*, p. 59. Flatheads; *Ind. Life*, pp. ix., x., 25. At Dalles; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 412. Shushwaps; *Grant's Ocean to Ocean*, pp. 288–304, 313. At Dalles; *Hunt*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1821, tom. x., p. 83; *Stuart*, in *Id.*, 1821, tom. xii., p. 43. Pend d'Oreilles; *Josset*, in *Id.*, 1849, tom. cxxiii., pp. 334–40.

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531 deeds of similar import in white races. In decorative art the inland natives must be pronounced inferior to those of the coast, perhaps only because they have less time to devote to such unproductive labor. Sculpture and painting are rare and exceedingly rude. On the coast the passion for ornamentation finds vent in carving and otherwise decorating the canoe, house, and implements; in the interior it expends itself on the caparison of the horse, or in bead and fringe work on garments.
802 Systems of numeration are simple, progressing by fours, fives, or tens, according to the different languages, and is sufficiently extensive to include large numbers; but the native rarely has occasion to count beyond a few hundreds, commonly using his fingers as an aid to his nu-
805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine
487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring bear-grass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Kliketats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Ogn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Coke's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 299; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[173] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[173] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Selish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkanî, *sol* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchâkat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxîus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Selicæ*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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805 meration. Years are reckoned by winters, divided by moons into months, and these months named from the ripening of some plant, the occurrence of a fishing or hunting season, or some other periodicity in their lives, or by the temperature. Among the Salish the day is divided according to the position of the sun into nine
487 parts. De Smet states that maps are made on bark or skins by which to direct their course on distant excur-

437 the Sahaptin county: The plain Indians during their stay on the river from May to September, before they begin fishing, go down to the falls with skins, mats, silk-grass, rushes and chapelell bread. Here they meet the mountain tribes from the Kooskooskie (Clearwater) and Lewis rivers, who bring beargrass, horses, quamash and a few skins obtained by hunting or by barter from the Tushepaws. At the falls are the Chilluckittequaws, Eneeshurs, Echeloots and Skilloots, the latter being intermediate traders between the upper and lower tribes. These tribes have pounded fish for sale; and the Chinooks bring wappato, sea-fish, berries, and trinkets obtained from the whites. Then the trade begins; the Chopunnish and mountain tribes buy wappato, pounded fish and beads; and the plain Indians buy wappato, horses, beads, etc. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 382, 444–5. Horse-fairs in which the natives display the qualities of their steeds with a view to sell. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 86–7. The Oakinacks make trips to the Pacific to trade wild hemp for hiaqua shells and trinkets. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 291, 323. Trade conducted in silence between a Flathead and Crow. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 56. Klikatats and Yakimas 'have become to the neighboring tribes what the Yankees were to the once Western States, the traveling retailers of notions.' *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 403, 406. Cayuses, Walla Wallas, and Nez Percés meet in Grande Ronde Valley to trade with the Snakes. *Thornton's Oyn, and Cal.*, vol. i., p. 270; *Hale's Ethnog.* in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 88–9, 156; *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 46, 54; *Dunn's way's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 160; *Colze's Rocky Mts.*, p. 294; *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 295; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 205.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[115] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland 624 622 623 681 622, 624

[115] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Selish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, ex spkaní, *soi* vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchéakat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxèus, id est, rezilhon quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguæ Selicæ*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374. 805 802 805

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for entrance, and this is closed up after the bather enters. Stones are heated by a fire in the bath itself, or are thrown in after being heated outside. In this oven, heated to a suffocating temperature, the naked native revels for a long time in the steam and mud, meanwhile singing, howling, praying, and finally rushes out dripping with perspiration, to plunge into the nearest stream.[191] Every lodge is surrounded by a pack of worthless coyote-looking curs. These are sometimes made to carry small burdens on their backs when the tribe is moving; otherwise no use is made of them, as they are never eaten, and, with perhaps the exception of a breed owned by the Okanagans, are never trained to hunt. I give in a note a few miscellaneous customs noticed by travelers.[192]

These natives of the interior are a healthy but not a very long-lived race. Ophthalmia, of which the sand, smoke of the lodges, and reflection of the sun's rays on the lakes are suggested as the causes, is more or less prevalent throughout the territory; scrofulous complaints and skin-eruptions are of frequent occurrence, especially in the Sahaptin family. Other diseases are comparatively rare, excepting of course epidemic disorders like

[191] *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 343–4; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 241–2; *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 311–12.

[192] The Walla Wallas receive bad news with a howl. The Spokanes 'cache' their salmon. They are willing to change names with any one they esteem. 'Suicide prevails more among the Indians of the Columbia River than in any other portion of the continent which I have visited.' *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 282–3, 317–10. 'Preserve particular order in their movements. The first chief leads the way, the next chiefs follow, then the common men, and after these the women and children.' They arrange themselves in similar order in coming forward to receive visitors. Do not usually know their own age. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 87, 133–4, 242. Distance is calculated by time; a day's ride is seventy miles on horseback, thirty-five miles on foot. *Ross' Advent.*, p. 329. Natives can tell by examining arrows to what tribe they belong. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 167. Klikatats and Yakimas often unwilling to tell their name. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'D'après toutes les observations que j'ai faites, leur journée équivaut à peu près à cinquante ou soixante milles anglais lorsqu'ils voyagent seuls, et à quinze ou vingt milles seulement lorsqu'ils lèvent leur campe.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Among the Nez Percés everything was promulgated by criers. 'The office of crier is generally filled by some old man, who is good for little else. A village has generally several.' *Irving's Bonneville's Advent.*, p. 286. Habits of worship of the Flatheads in the missions. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 315–6. 'A pack of prick-eared curs, simply tamed prairie wolves, always in attendance.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–3.

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771 787 was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf 835 and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings 751 at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar 783 custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold 756 baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion 343 that has been noted on the coast.[190] Steam baths are 515 universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but some- 783 times for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left 753 825

[190] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

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The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

Puberty Isolation and Training

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In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[105] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 110 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[32] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[33]

The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[34] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[32] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[33] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[34] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

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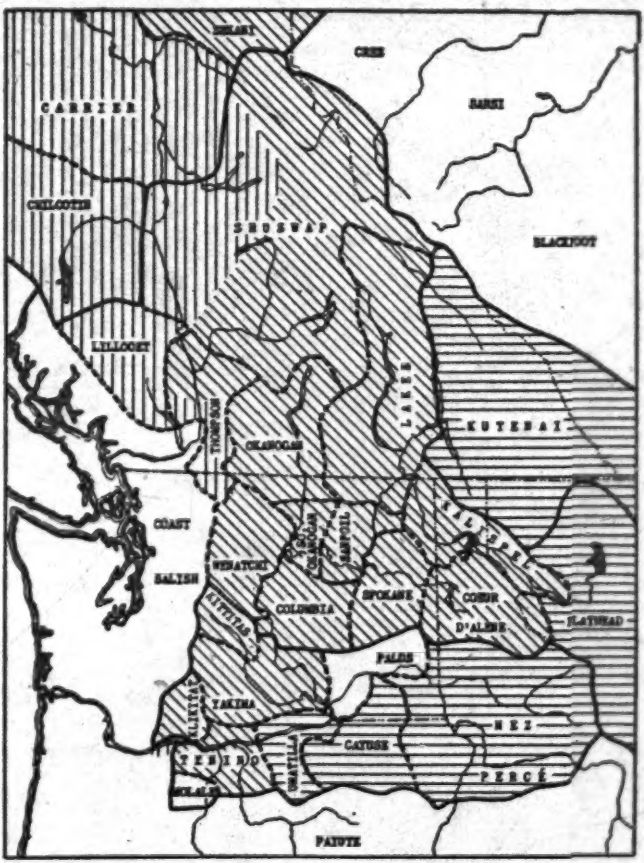
class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

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mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

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The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 87, 98.

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555 ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

183 554 829 Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

567 829 Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet?, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

567 Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.

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and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

[178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated, and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

[179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of incontinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place in the Plateau is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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MENSTRUAL PRACTICES

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Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

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The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

Puberty Isolation and Training

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In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[105] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 110 f.

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Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food by the Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[108]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[108] Cline, *loc. cit.*

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wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs.

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

Dance of Notification

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311–17.

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[180] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[181]

[180] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alcord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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525 527 The annual summer gathering on the river banks for fishing and trade, and among the mountain nations, the return from a successful raid in the enemy's country, are the favorite periods for native diversions.[182] To gambling they are no less passionately addicted in the interior than on the coast,[183] but even in this universal Indian vice, their preference for horse-racing, the noblest form of gaming, raises them above their stick-shuffling brethren of the Pacific. On the speed of his horse the native stakes all he owns, and is discouraged only when his animal is lost, and with it the opportunity to make up past losses in another race. Foot-racing and target-shooting, in which men, women and children participate, also afford them indulgence in their gambling propensities and at the same time develop their bodies by exercise, and perfect their skill in the use of their native weapon.[184] The Colvilles have a game, *alkollock*, played

847 888 very old and the very young alive, because, they said, "these cannot take care of themselves, and we cannot take care of them, and they had better die." *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 328; *White's Ogn.*, p. 96; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp, 148–9.

525 527 [182] In the Yakima Valley 'we visited every street, alley, hole and corner of the camp....Here was gambling, there scalp-dancing; laughter in one place, mourning in another. Crowds were passing to and fro, whooping, yelling, dancing, drumming, singing. Men, women, and children were huddled together; flags flying, horses neighing, dogs howling, chained bears, tied wolves, grunting and growling, all pell-mell among the tents.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 28. At Kettle Falls 'whilst awaiting the coming salmon, the scene is one great revel: horse-racing, gambling, love-making, dancing, and diversions of all sorts, occupy the singular assembly; for at these annual gatherings....feuds and dislikes are for the time laid by.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 72–3.

525 [183] The principal amusement of the Okanagans is gambling, 'at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes,' disputes being settled by arbitration. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 88. A young man at Kettle Falls committed suicide, having lost everything at gambling. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–10. 'Les Indiens de la Colombie ont porté les jeux de hasard au dernier excès. Après avoir perdu tout ce qu'ils ont, ils se mettent eux-mêmes sur le tapis, d'abord une main, ensuite l'autre; s'ils les perdent, les bras, et ainsi de suite tous les membres du corps; la tête suit, et s'ils la perdent, ils deviennent esclaves pour la vie avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 49–50. Many Kooteneais have abandoned gambling. *De Smet, West. Miss.*, p. 300. 'Whatever the poor Indian can call his own, is ruthlessly sacrificed to this Moloch of human weakness.' *Ind. Life*, p. 42; *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 102–3.

[184] Spokanes; 'one of their great amusements is horse-racing.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 487. Kliketats and Yakimas; 'the racing season is the grand annual occasion of these tribes. A horse of proved reputation is a source of wealth or ruin to his owner. On his speed he stakes his

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wasco bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413; vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's North-w. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêteté, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 165–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 282, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.

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especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[180] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[181]

[180] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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quests for guardian spirits during the years immediately preceding puberty. Post-pubertal quests are never made. Many girls (twenty or thirty percent) likewise observe vigils. The visionary visits obscure spots, mountain tops, or bodies of water. He ordinarily carries an object given him by his proctor, an old man. This object is not symbolic but is to be deposited at the destination to prove his faithfulness to instructions. Activities during the night include constant alertness, building of rock piles, diving in water, and imitative activities such as "playing the stick game with the spirits."

The actual experience comes in a vision, or in a dream which is interpreted as a vision. The visionary is cautioned above all not to fall asleep or even interrupt activity for rest. But a youngster of tender age doubtless finds it difficult to comply to the letter with this interdiction. Yet he surely makes an attempt, for very early in life he learns that a successful spirit experience is indispensable to any valued achievement as an adult, indeed to avoid complete social insignificance. Now the psychological state most conducive to a vision is that semi-conscious condition just preceding actual sleep, or preceding actual awareness following awakening. Add to this the physical conditions inherent in the quest—nakedness; inclement weather (often); portentous sounds of the night; strange, spirit-infested surroundings where even adults would fear to tread; abnormal activity such as playing a game with a row of rocks which may at any moment come to life—and it is surprising that a quest ever fails to result in a vision.

The vision is of a highly formulated nature. The spirit, resembling a man, appears suddenly and speaks, asserting his friendliness and desire to help the visionary to a full adult life. He offers his supernatural help in certain activities and toward general good fortune and health. Before leaving he identifies himself, gives the suppliant a song and, less often, a dance step. The visionary reaches normal consciousness with the song ringing in his ears.

The boy or girl immediately returns home but does not reveal the outcome of the quest to anyone. Subsequent vigils are kept with the hope of adding to the number of one's tutelaries. The quests are brought to an end by puberty, whereupon all of the experiences are purposely "forgotten" and never recalled until the unsolicited reappearance of the spirits at maturity (twenty-five to thirty years of age). This repression for many years explains many aspects of the guardian spirit complex. By the time the spirit returns the individual has found his place in the

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community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

The Cultural Role

The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

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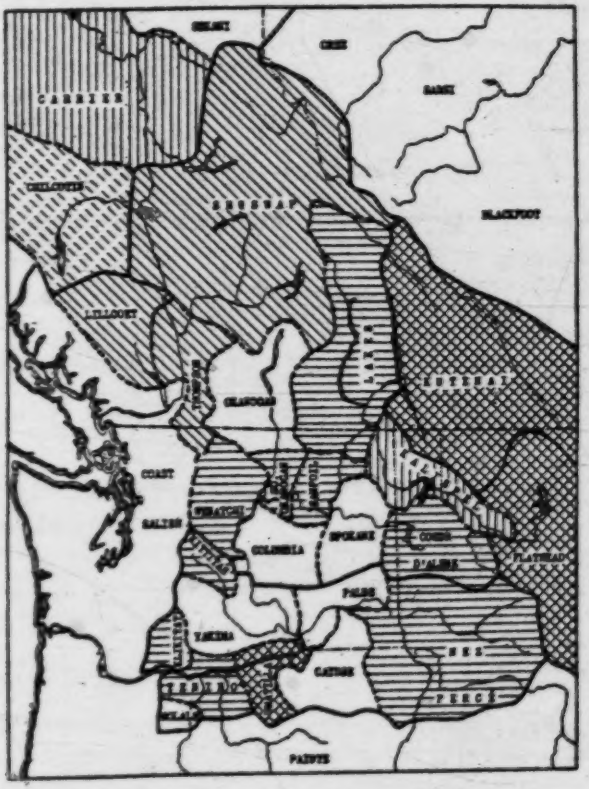
sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism.

The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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killed. In pauses during the narratives the drummers beat rapid taps on the drum, as if in approbation. They did the same after each notable exploit had been narrated. The people joined in applause and shouting. Meanwhile the women relatives of the warriors, and any others who cared to join them formed themselves into a mimic war party. They elected chiefs, dressed in the clothes of warriors, did up their hair and painted their faces, donned war bonnets, and took up weapons. . . . The chiefs beat the drums and sang the scalp song. The women then danced in a circle against the sun's course and continued for about two hours.[97]

A final word of caution is desirable with regard to war antics as a feature of war dances. Such mimicry is found both in the Plateau and the Plains. But to avoid a false appearance of parallelism, it must be added that in the Plateau such war antics are a feature of the pre-conflict dance for protection and success, whereas in the Plains they characterize the post-conflict victory dance and exclusively represent actual experiences of the encounter just completed. Thus the Plateau performances are essentially a kind of sympathetic magic while in the Plains they are a formalized means of boasting and gloating. Imitative magic is normally absent in the Plains complex, according to Smith, unless the recounting of war deeds be considered such.[98]

GIRLS' PUBERTY OBSERVANCES

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Ceremonial recognition is given the girl's attainment of puberty throughout the Plateau. In some parts, however, the observances are scarcely more extensive than those accompanying each subsequent menstrual period. In the Canadian Plateau the ceremonial is quite elaborate, and again among the Klamath, but the two ceremonies belong to quite different patterns. In the north the occasion is primarily one of training while among the Klamath it is a dance of announcement. The Klikitat participate in both traditions but neither is especially elaborated. The nearby Wishram are found at the other extreme; they give only very moderate attention to the period. In this respect they affiliate with all other groups of the American Plateau except the Kalispel. The latter definitely share the northern pattern. The Kutenai likewise share certain details of the ceremony with others in the north, but they stand apart in emphasizing several unique features.[99]

[97] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 189 f.; cf. Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 447 f.

[98] Smith, *War Complex*, pp. 445, 448.

[99] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.

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To the east and west of the Plateau highly contrasting attitudes are observed. In the Plains almost no attention is given to the attainment of puberty. The region does not stand alone in this respect, but is merely one with the entire area east of the Rocky Mountains. On the Coast, however, the occasion is utilized as the basis, or sometimes merely the excuse, for dramatic and rigid ritualization.[100]

It is difficult to see why the Wishram fail to participate in the ceremonial richness of either the Klikitat, on the one hand, or the Coast on the other. Wishram contacts with the Coast are closer, in general, than those of any other southern Plateau group. Furthermore, coastal elaboration did not miss the mouth of the Columbia. The Lower Chinook extend puberty observances over a period of five months. Apparently the Wishram in this case cling to the Plateau pattern with more than usual tenacity in the face of outside influence.

It is even more certain that the Flathead and Kutenai are maintaining a typical Plateau pattern against Plains indifference. Both tribes occupy considerable territory on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains and have not been at all hesitant in accepting many aspects of Plains culture. But in this instance both continue to give ritual attention to the achievement of puberty. The situation is quite different with respect to observances linked with subsequent menstrual periods. The Flathead and Kutenai, together with their Plains neighbors, pay no attention whatever to these occasions. The woman is neither isolated nor subjected to any restrictions. In only one other place *in the Plateau* is this attitude repeated; that is the Wishram. The eastern cases are readily accountable in terms of adjacent Plains custom, but the Wishram are completely surrounded by tribes that both isolate the woman and restrict her actions at this time. This negative attitude is in keeping, however, with the slight attention given to puberty. Also, the Klamath, some distance southward, are rather indifferent toward these periods. Women belonging to a shaman's household are isolated, but perhaps not others. The Klamath do not affiliate with their neighbors to the south in this respect, for isolation is common in northern California.[101]

Since the ceremonialism of the first period is generally an elaboration upon the behavior pattern of each subsequent menstruation, the latter may well be considered as a basis for the discussion of the former. This of course does not apply to the Wishram, Kutenai, or Flathead.

[100] Cf. Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 314 ff.

[101] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f.; Spier and Sapir, *loc. cit.*

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Menstrual Practices

Isolation is everywhere practiced; the menstruant retires to a small hut at some distance from the house. A common hut for all menstruants is recorded only for the Chilcotin, Southern Okanogan, and Nez Percé.[102] The coastal habit of isolation in a screened corner of the house is found as a secondary practice in a continuous distribution from the Klikitat to the Kalispel (including Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil). Elsewhere it is absent. The occurrences indicate diffusion up the Columbia River.

The period of isolation is that of actual menstruation only or else conforms to the pattern number five. The latter custom is found only in the south central Plateau (Klikitat, Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi).

A more or less complete fast is required in only two recorded instances, the Sanpoil and Kalispel. Certain fresh foods are tabu among the Southern Okanogan and the Klikitat, but the custom is more consistent and specific in the Canadian Plateau (Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet, Chilcotin, Carrier). Here fresh meat is invariably tabu and salmon also, except among the Thompson. In marked contrast to the Sanpoil, much of the south central area lacks food tabus entirely (Wenatchi, Kittitas, Umatilla, Tenino?). In the extreme south, the Klamath forbid both fresh meat and fish to the menstruant; this is consonant with northern California practice. The widespread tabu against fresh meat is thus broken only in the south central Plateau.[103]

A scratcher, usually a pointed stick, is used in some places so that the menstruant may avoid direct contact of the fingers with the body, especially the head. But this practice is much less extensive for the menstruant than for the pubescent. The instances are Klamath, Klikitat, Sanpoil, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Carrier; absent: Tenino, Umatilla, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Kalispel, Lillooet, Thompson, Coeur d'Alêne. The longitudinal spread is impressive, even though interrupted.

All except the last of these distributions tend to exhibit a south central area in contrast to a northern one, with the Athabascans included in the latter. The Klamath stand somewhat apart, facing southward in some respects. All of the traits noted have distributions outside the Plateau, especially in California.

[102] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 111 f.; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 198.

[103] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 134; Cline, *loc. cit.*; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 70 f., cf. p. 316.

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The central groups, notably the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan, place strong emphasis on the contaminating properties of blood. Most of the tabus are explained, or at least rationalized, in such terms. The existence of a multitude of tabus designed to keep the menstruating women from contaminating other people and things argues against too literal acceptance of the declarations that menstruants are always isolated. There are not only tabus, but remedies in case these are broken. In the central Plateau the menstruant is not permitted to cook food or touch the food of others. She is forbidden to walk around the head of a bed, to take water from certain sources, to touch weapons, and the like. Yet in the menstrual hut there is no opportunity for such actions. But in fact much of the ill that befalls a household is attributed to the harmful influences of menstruating women.[104]

Puberty Isolation and Training

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In the southern Plateau, excepting the Klamath, the puberty ritual is essentially the menstrual ritual somewhat more elaborated. For example, the Southern Okanogan girl

> left the dwelling house and remained in a little tipi built for her some distance from the village. Before she went her mother bound her hair in rolls which hung low on either side, behind her ears, and were decorated with fur and sometimes other ornaments. She was required to keep this coiffure during the period of isolation. She might not touch it, even to scratch it, on pain of future baldness. Instead she used a scratcher in the form of a miniature comb which hung in the tipi for her convenience. Her forehead and cheeks were daubed with red and yellow vegetable paint, applied over a layer of pine pitch. She wore undecorated clothing which she was not allowed to change. Sometimes she used a shell or a drinking tube, lest the contact of her lips dry up the spring she wished to drink from. . . . She remained alone in the hut, eating little or nothing. . . . When the flow ceased, she built a small sweathouse, and entered upon a long period of purification. . . . According to varying report, this period lasted from a month to a year. There was probably a great deal of individual and local variation.[105]

The long duration is reminiscent of northern practice. Among the Sanpoil, isolation lasts but ten days. Other details are closely similar, except that the girl is expected to engage in a certain amount of early morning exercise, especially running about the hills. This, too, is a northern custom, but is not unknown elsewhere.

[104] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 134 f.
[105] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 110 f.

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Farther south the practices are even simpler; special dress and hairdress are infrequent. Duration is short and fixed, usually at five days. The Tenino observe a ten day period, paralleling the Sanpoil (also northern California). Stale food is prohibited by the Klikitat, fresh food by the Umatilla. The Kittitas and Wenatchi observe a nominally complete fast. The Tenino have a common hut for all pubescents; at least so I have recorded. This is quite foreign to Plateau usage although there is a suggestion of it for the Southern Okanogan.[108]

The Flathead pattern incorporates a number of these practices but does not involve actual isolation. The principal and prescribed activity of the four day period is the gathering of large quantities of wood which anyone may appropriate. The following month the procedure is repeated.

The Kutenai ritual, in contrast, is highly specialized. The girl is isolated, either summer or winter, in a conical hut of bark. No food tabus are enforced, but water is restricted in quantity. She must not speak to anyone except her mother, who serves as proctor. Leading from the hut is a path of poles upon which the girl must walk when she leaves the shelter. Under no circumstances may she step directly on the ground. Inside is an elevated platform of poles on which she sits. Her fingers, and also her toes, are twined together with string so that they may not be separated. This is to insure against stiffening of the fingers in later life. At the end of five days the proctor rebraids the girl's hair and tightens the twining of the fingers and toes. On the tenth day she bathes in a stream and returns to camp, but continues to eat apart for some time. One year later these observances are repeated, but this time for five days only.

Among the Canadian Salish the occasion is utilized primarily as a formal training period. The practices of the Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap are fairly similar; those of the Kalispel belong here, too, though less elaborate. A résumé of Thompson practices will provide the picture. The pubescent is at once isolated in a conical hut. A girl sometimes moves to the mountains, accompanied by her parents. She wears a conical headdress of fir twigs during the first four days. For this period she does not wash or eat and drinks but little water. Inside the hut she squats on her heels, often in a pit which almost conceals her. She is wrapped in a heavy blanket, which she wears almost continuously. During the nights she runs about the hills; collects quantities of

[108] Cline, *loc. cit.*

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wood which she burns; sings, dances, and prays. She digs trenches in the ground and carries heavy rocks about. She also engages in a number of arbitrary, time-consuming activities which have no practical purpose. She splits small fir trees from top to bottom and loops and ties the branches of others. For hours she plucks needles from fir boughs.

After the first four days she discards the heavy robe, except at night, and is allowed somewhat greater freedom in her activities. She may eat sparingly, lie down, and comb her hair. She is allowed to bathe but may touch her body only with a brush made of fir twigs. She uses a scratcher and a drinking tube. The arbitrary activities continue, and each night is spent in traveling about the hills and engaging in strenuous activity so that she may be strong and sound as an adult. She returns to her hut at daybreak each morning. Each day she paints her face and arranges her hair in rolls on either side.[107]

The isolation lasts for four months. In earlier times it may have been a year, as it is among the Shuswap. The Lillooet period is much shorter, being only twenty days, but in earlier times it equalled that of the Shuswap. The Kalispel girl remains isolated but five days, the southern pattern. All use the scratcher, and all but the Kalispel the drinking tube. The Kalispel girl does not fast or observe food tabus.

The Carrier and Chilcotin observances are very moderate compared to these. The duration for the former is four or five days, the latter, ten. Both observe a tabu against fresh food and hot food. The Chilcotin use the drinking tube but not the Carrier. The scratcher is common to both. Tattooing is done at this time by the Chilcotin. Neither have the hair dress with rolls at the side of the head. The period is one of isolation but not of vigorous exercise.

Dance of Notification

The ritualism of the Wishram and Klamath conforms to quite a different pattern. The Klikitat also participate in this tradition as well as in that described above. Instead of complete isolation or prolonged training, the ritual is here one of notification with public dancing as a central feature.

Spier has defined the area of which this ritual is characteristic, and has described the type:

> In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay

[107] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 311–17.

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quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together: a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.[108]

Specifically, among the Wishram, the duration is five days during which a dance is held each night. On the final evening the girl appears decorated with bead necklaces. These and other gifts are distributed among the guests.[109]

The Klikitat ritual is considerably more elaborate. Both the round dance and the abreast dance are performed. The girl stands in the center and sings but does not dance. The songs are "women's songs" or "love songs." The deer hoof rattle and hand drums are used. Gifts are distributed during the dancing. When a gift is displayed a dancer desiring it raises his hand in indication. Upon receiving it he dances about holding it aloft. A feature of the ritualism is a symbolic washing of the girl by her grandmother. The dances last for five nights and are repeated at a later time.

Among the Klamath the girl herself dances throughout the night. The guests both dance and sing. The girl dances with downcast eyes. The hairdress is related to that encountered before; the braids are arranged to form two clubs which are bound with braided cords. Buckbrush bands are worn around the neck, wrists, ankles, below the knees, and around the waist.[110]

General

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The groups just discussed clearly affiliate with others who practice partial isolation coupled with a dance of notification, as depicted by Spier. This includes northern California and the southernmost coast of Oregon. But the remainder of the Oregon coast lacks the dance. The Tillamook are a possible exception. In describing the observances by the Tillamook girl, Boas states, "Sometimes she would dance during the night." Barnett questions the presence of the dance of notification,

[108] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 318.
[109] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 262.
[110] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 68–70.

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even though suggested by his own data. The Lower Chinook hold a simple one-day dance for friends, on the fifth day, at which the girl is not present. At the end of five months of isolation another ceremony is held in which the girl makes her appearance and takes part in the dancing and singing.[111]

This distribution suggests that the dance may have diffused northward from California along the Cascades rather than along the coast. The Klikitat would represent the northernmost point reached. From the Klikitat and the Wishram the dance may well have filtered down the Columbia Valley, reaching the Lower Chinook and modifying slightly the Northwest complex already present there. Immediately to the south, the Tillamook were even less influenced.

This Northwest complex has likewise been phrased by Spier.

> In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.[112]

Obviously, the Oregon practices and those of the Northwest are not mutually exclusive. The giving of presents (Wishram, Klikitat, Northwest) and the duration (Lower Chinook: five days isolation, ceremony at end of five months) may be mentioned. This represents true overlapping of local specialties, not common participation in universal elements. Just so, the Plateau practices show affiliation at some points with the Northwest, at others with northern California. Yet two sub-areas may be delimited on the basis of dominant ritual characteristics.

The Canadian Plateau Salish stand out most clearly. The period is one of long duration during which strenuous activity is continuous. The motivating factor is training and the insurance of good health and strength for the future. Magical acts toward this end are numerous. The isolation and activities are away from the village, preferably in the mountains. The girl spends her time alone; she is visited when necessary by a proctor, usually her mother. A period of purification ends the isolation, but there are no activities that may be construed as notification.

[111] Boas, *Notes on the Tillamook*, p. 6; Barnett, *Oregon Coast*, p. 181; Ray, *Lower Chinook*, pp. 71 f. [112] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 317 f.

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The long duration is reminiscent of the Coast, but in this case it is a period of enforced activity; on the Coast, restricted activity. The coastal proctor remains close at hand; the girl remains in the village. Guardian spirits are obtained at this time by the Plateau girl, but this is incidental to the isolation and training.

In the southern Plateau, as noted above, the ritual is essentially an elaboration of the menstrual tabus. Occasion is taken to impress upon the girl the deep significance and potency of menstrual uncleanliness. Old clothing is worn; hair dress is specified; food tabus are emphasized; isolation is complete; the duration is short, conforming to the pattern number five, sometimes doubled. Guardian spirits may be obtained; again this is incidental. Purification is simply by bathing. No notification is involved.

A few elements of widespread distribution in the West now demand attention. The girl's face is hidden or her gaze held averted by a visor, large hat, mat or basket, from central California northward on the coast to the Tlingit. This practice filters into the northern Plateau, where a conical hat of twigs is worn, but is absent to the south. Bands are worn around the joints among the Klamath and sporadically on the Coast. This custom is not found in the Plateau but may be related to the widespread Plateau practice of wearing such bands after mourning. The stooped posture of the Coast is found in even more emphasized form in the northern Plateau. Nowhere in the area does the girl characteristically recline, as on the Oregon coast. The elevated platform on which the Kutenai girl sits is suggestive of the plank on which the Tillamook girl must squat, but the parallel is perhaps superficial. The path of poles and the twining of the fingers of the Kutenai appear unique. The repetition of the observances at a following period is found most characteristically in northern California, is absent in the south central Plateau, but recurs among the Flathead, Kutenai, Shuswap, and Lillooet. The two last cases may be the result of recent shortening of the initial period.

Most impressive in distribution are the arbitrary tasks assigned to the girl. The gathering of wood is demanded by many northern California tribes. The Maidu girl, for example, piles logs to no purpose. The Thompson girl likewise gathers firewood, and piles rocks. But the wood gathered is used for fires which the girl builds. On the other hand, wood gathered by the Flathead girl may be appropriated by anyone, and she carries quantities of water whether it is needed or not.

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It was mentioned above that in the Canadian Plateau the girl interminably plucks needles, one at a time, from conifer boughs. Far to the south, the Mohave girl "goes about plucking leaves from arrowweed brush—a perfectly useless labor—merely because she would forever be lazy if she remained sitting in the house."[113] Related practices are found in California.

The scratcher, either stick or comb, appears to be present throughout the Plateau except with the Coeur d'Alêne, Umatilla, and perhaps the Nez Percé and Wishram. The drinking tube is much less common, being used only by the Klikitat, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Lillooet, Shuswap, Chilcotin, Kutenai, and Flathead (uncertain: Nez Percé, Wishram).

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

Clear-cut distributional differences are found in the Plateau with respect to disposal of the dead. The forms are numerous: inhumation; cremation; disposition in boxes, in baskets, on elevated platforms, in trees, in small elevated houses. Cremation occurs in the extreme north and south. Among the Carrier and the Klamath it is the exclusive form, except that Carrier children are sometimes buried in baskets. The Chilcotin, Shuswap, and Thompson practice cremation under certain circumstances, and the Coeur d'Alêne very rarely. Tree burial is utilized for permanent disposal by the Lower Thompson; for temporary disposal by the Tenino, Umatilla, Southern Okanogan, and Lillooet. The Lower Thompson also employ boxes and small houses as containers for the corpse. These are always elevated, sometimes in trees, sometimes on a platform. House burial reappears among the Wishram but in this case without elevation. Basket burial is employed by the Lillooet. Among the other Plateau tribes inhumation is practiced exclusively.

Talus slopes and gravel banks provide the most common sites for burial in the southern Plateau. River banks and islands are frequently used. Quite to the contrary, the Canadian Salish almost invariably sink their graves in soil, preferably loose or sandy soil. There is little consistency in location relative to the village: the Tenino, Klikitat, Lillooet, and Chilcotin prefer sites some distance removed. The Flathead invariably select a spot that is obscure and thus not easily found by enemies who might disinter and rifle the remains. If no such location

[113] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 748.

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

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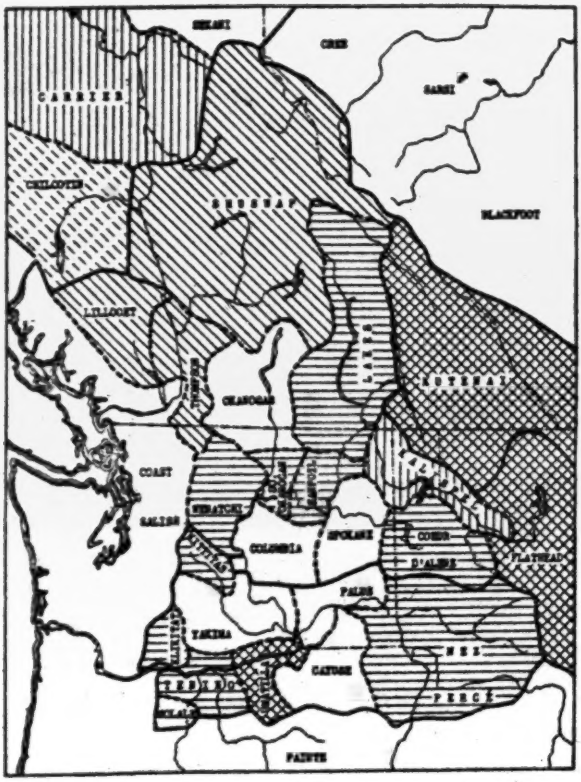
sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates



MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism.

The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

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and then must marry agreeably to her mother-in-law's taste or forfeit her husband's property.[178] The women make faithful, obedient wives and affectionate mothers. Incontinence in either girls or married women is extremely rare, and prostitution almost unknown, being severely punished, especially among the Nez Percés. In this respect the inland tribes present a marked contrast to their coast neighbors.[179] At the first appearance of the menses the woman must retire from the sight of all,

[178] Each Okanagan 'family is ruled by the joint will or authority of the husband and wife, but more particularly by the latter.' Wives live at different camps among their relatives; one or two being constantly with the husband. Brawls constantly occur when several wives meet. The women are chaste, and attached to husband and children. At the age of fourteen or fifteen the young man pays his addresses in person to the object of his love, aged eleven or twelve. After the old folks are in bed, he goes to her wigwam, builds a fire, and if welcome the mother permits the girl to come and sit with him for a short time. These visits are several times repeated, and he finally goes in the day-time with friends and his purchase money. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 295–302. The Spokane husband joins his wife's tribe; women are held in great respect; and much affection is shown for children. Among the Nez Percés both men and women have the power of dissolving the marriage tie at pleasure. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 410, 475–6, 486, 495. The Coeurs d'Alêne 'have abandoned polygamy.' *Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 149, 309; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 406. Pend d'Oreille women less enslaved than in the mountains, but yet have much heavy work, paddle canoes, etc. Generally no marriage among savages. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–9, 210. The Nez Percés generally confine themselves to two wives, and rarely marry cousins. No wedding ceremony. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655. Polygamy not general on the Fraser; and unknown to Kootenais. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 155, 379, vol. i., pp. 256–9. Nez Percés have abandoned polygamy. *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 129, 56. Flathead women do everything but hunt and fight. *Ind. Life*, p. 41. Flathead women 'by no means treated as slaves, but, on the contrary, have much consideration and authority.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*; vol. vi., p. 207. 'Rarely marry out of their own nation,' and do not like their women to marry whites. *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 313–14. The Sokulk men 'are said to content themselves with a single wife, with whom.... the husband shares the labours of procuring subsistence much more than is usual among savages.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 351; *Dunniway's Capt. Gray's Comp.*, p. 161; *Gray's Hist. Ogn.*, p. 171; *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–5; *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 208; *De Smet's West. Miss.*, p. 289.

[179] The wife of a young Kootenai left him for another, whereupon he shot himself. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., p. 169. Among the Flatheads 'conjugal infidelity is scarcely known.' *Dunn's Oregon*, p. 311. The Sahaptins 'do not exhibit those loose feelings of carnal desire, nor appear addicted to the common customs of prostitution.' *Gass' Jour.*, p. 275. Inland tribes have a reputation for chastity, probably due to circumstances rather than to fixed principles. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 300. Spokanes 'free from the vice of inconstinence.' Among the Walla Wallas prostitution is unknown, 'and I believe no inducement would tempt them to commit a breach of chastity.' Prostitution common on the Fraser. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 145, 199–200. Nez Percé women remarkable for their chastity. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

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especially men, for a period varying from ten days to a month, and on each subsequent occasion for two or three days, and must be purified by repeated ablutions before she may resume her place in the household. Also at the time of her confinement she is deemed unclean, and must remain for a few weeks in a separate lodge, attended generally by an old woman. The inland woman is not prolific, and abortions are not uncommon, which may probably be attributed in great measure to her life of labor and exposure. Children are not weaned till between one and two years of age; sometimes not until they abandon the breast of their own accord or are supplanted by a new arrival; yet though subsisting on the mother's milk alone, and exposed with slight clothing to all extremes of weather, they are healthy and robust, being carried about in a rude cradle on the mother's back, or mounted on colts and strapped to the saddle that they may not fall off when asleep. After being weaned the child is named after some animal, but the name is changed frequently later in life[120] Although children and old people are as a rule kindly cared for, yet so great the straits to which the tribes are reduced by circumstances, that both are sometimes abandoned if not put to death.[121]

[120] In the Salish family on the birth of a child wealthy relatives make presents of food and clothing. The Nez Percé mother gives presents but receives none on such an occasion. The Flatheads and Pend d'Oreilles bandage the waist and legs of infants with a view to producing broad-shouldered, small-waisted and straight-limbed adults. *Tolmie and Anderson*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 231–2. Among the Walla Wallas 'when traveling a hoop, bent over the head of the child, protects it from injury.' The confinement after child-birth continues forty days. At the first menstruation the Spokane woman must conceal herself two days in the forest; for a man to see her would be fatal; she must then be confined for twenty days longer in a separate lodge. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–8, 485. The Okanagan mother is not allowed to prepare her unborn infant's swaddling clothes, which consist of a piece of board, a bit of skin, a bunch of moss, and a string. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 324–30. 'Small children, not more than three years old, are mounted alone and generally upon colts.' Younger ones are carried on the mother's back 'or suspended from a high knob upon the forepart of their saddles.' *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 98. Houses among the Chopunnish 'appropriated for women who are undergoing the operation of the menses.' 'When anything is to be conveyed to these deserted females, the person throws it to them forty or fifty paces off, and then retires.' *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 539; *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 78; *Alcord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655.

[121] With the Pend d'Oreilles 'it was not uncommon for them to bury the

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525 527 The annual summer gathering on the river banks for fishing and trade, and among the mountain nations, the return from a successful raid in the enemy's country, are the favorite periods for native diversions.[182] To gambling they are no less passionately addicted in the interior than on the coast,[183] but even in this universal Indian vice, their preference for horse-racing, the noblest form of gaming, raises them above their stick-shuffling brethren of the Pacific. On the speed of his horse the native stakes all he owns, and is discouraged only when his animal is lost, and with it the opportunity to make up past losses in another race. Foot-racing and target-shooting, in which men, women and children participate, also afford them indulgence in their gambling propensities and at the same time develop their bodies by exercise, and perfect their skill in the use of their native weapon.[184] The Colvilles have a game, *alkollock*, played

847 888 very old and the very young alive, because, they said, "these cannot take care of themselves, and we cannot take care of them, and they had better die." *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 211; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., p. 328; *White's Ogn.*, p. 96; *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 148–9.

525 527 [182] 'In the Yakima Valley 'we visited every street, alley, hole and corner of the camp.... Here was gambling, there scalp-dancing; laughter in one place, mourning in another. Crowds were passing to and fro, whooping, yelling, dancing, drumming, singing. Men, women, and children were huddled together; flags flying, horses neighing, dogs howling, chained bears, tied wolves, grunting and growling, all pell-mell among the tents.' *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 28. At Kettle Falls 'whilst awaiting the coming salmon, the scene is one great revel: horse-racing, gambling, love-making, dancing, and diversions of all sorts, occupy the singular assembly; for at these annual gatherings....feuds and dislikes are for the time laid by.' *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 72–3.

525 [183] The principal amusement of the Okanagans is gambling, 'at which they are not so quarrelsome as the Spokans and other tribes,' disputes being settled by arbitration. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., p. 88. A young man at Kettle Falls committed suicide, having lost everything at gambling. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 309–10. 'Les Indiens de la Colombie ont porté les jeux de hasard au dernier excès. Après avoir perdu tout ce qu'ils ont, ils se mettent eux-mêmes sur le tapis, d'abord une main, ensuite l'autre; s'ils les perdent, les bras, et ainsi de suite tous les membres du corps; la tête suit, et s'ils la perdent, ils deviennent esclaves pour la vie avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 49–50. Many Kooteneais have abandoned gambling. *De Smet, West. Miss.*, p. 300. 'Whatever the poor Indian can call his own, is ruthlessly sacrificed to this Moloch of human weakness.' *Ind. Life*, p. 42; *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 102–3.

[184] Spokanes; 'one of their great amusements is horse-racing.' *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., p. 487. Kliketats and Yakimas; 'the racing season is the grand annual occasion of these tribes. A horse of proved reputation is a source of wealth or ruin to his owner. On his speed he stakes his

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burial are held most sacred. Mounds of stones surmounted with crosses indicate in later times the conversion of the natives to a foreign religion.[194]

In character and in morals,[195] as well as in physique, the

[194] The Sokulks wrap the dead in skins, bury them in graves, cover with earth, and mark the grave by little pickets of wood struck over and about it. On the Columbia below the Snake was a shed-tomb sixty by twelve feet, open at the ends, standing east and west. Recently dead bodies wrapped in leather and arranged on boards at the west end. About the centre a promiscuous heap of partially decayed corpses; and at eastern end a mat with twenty-one skulls arranged in a circle. Articles of property suspended on the inside and skeletons of horses scattered outside. About the Dalles eight vaults of boards eight feet square, and six feet high, and all the walls decorated with pictures and carvings. The bodies were laid east and west. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 344–5, 359–60, 379–80, 557–8. Okanagans observe silence about the death-bed, but the moment the person dies the house is abandoned, and clamorous mourning is joined in by all the camp for some hours; then dead silence while the body is wrapped in a new garment, brought out, and the lodge torn down. Then alternate mourning and silence, and the deceased is buried in a sitting posture in a round hole. Widows must mourn two years, incessantly for some months, then only morning and evening *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 321–2. Frantic mourning, cutting the flesh, etc., by Nez Percés. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., pp. 234–5, 238–9, vol. ii., p. 139. Destruction of horses and other property by Spokanes. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., pp. 200–1. A shushwap widow instigates the murder of a victim as a sacrifice to her husband. The horses of a Walla Walla chief not used after his death. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 178–9, 264–5, 277, 289. Hundreds of Wasco bodies piled in a small house on an island, just below the Dalles. A Walla Walla chief caused himself to be buried alive in the grave of his last son. *Hines' Voy.*, pp. 159, 184–8. Among the Yakimas and Kliketats the women do the mourning, living apart for a few days, and then bathing. Okanagan bodies strapped to a tree. Stone mounds over Spokane graves. *Gibbs and Stevens*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 413, vol. xii., pt. i., p. 150. Pend d'Oreilles buried old and young alive when unable to take care of them. *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, pp. 211, 238. 'High conical stacks of drift-wood' over Walla Walla graves. *Townsend's Nar.*, p. 157. Shushwaps often deposit dead in trees. If in the ground, always cover grave with stones. *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 304. Killing a slave by Wascos. *White's Ogn.*, pp. 260–3. Dances and prayers for three days at Nez Percé chief's burial. *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 283. Burying infant with parents by Flatheads. *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 173. Light wooden palings about Shushwap graves. *Milton and Cheadle's North-w. Pass.*, p. 242; *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 655; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 104; *Palmer*, in *B. C. Papers*, pt. iii., p. 85; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 219; *Ind. Life*, p. 55; *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 237–8, 260–1.

[195] Sokulks 'of a mild and peaceable disposition,' respectful to old age. Chilluckittequaws 'unusually hospitable and good humoured.' Chopunnish 'the most amiable we have seen. Their character is placid and gentle, rarely moved into passion.' 'They are indeed selfish and avaricious.' Will pilfer small articles. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 338, 341, 351, 376, 556–8, 564. The Flatheads 'se distinguent par la civilité, l'honnêtété, et la bonté.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 31–2, 38–40, 47–50, 163–74, 202–4. Flatheads 'the best Indians of the mountains and the plains,—honest, brave, and docile.' Kootenais 'men of great docility and artlessness of character.' *Stevens and Hoecken*, in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 281, 284, 290, 300. Coeurs d'Alène selfish and poor-spirited. *De Smet, Miss. de l'Orégon*, p. 329. In the Walla Wallas 'an air of open unsuspecting confidence,' 'natural politeness,' no obtrusive familiarity. Flatheads 'frank and hospitable.' Except cruelty to captives.